THE
Life and Reign
OF
KING
RICHARD
THE SECOND.

By a Person of Quality.

LONDON:
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Langly Curtis on *Ludgate-hill.* 1681.

TO THE READERS.

Gentlemen,

YOU are here presented with the Life and Reign of a Prince whose Misfortunes render his Story perhaps as Remarkable as any in our English Annals. Concerning which I shall only assure you, that the Compiler (for he as little affects, as deserves the Title of an Author) has made it his Business truly to set down naked Matters of Fact as he finds them Related by the best Authors, without obtruding his own Fancies or Dreams under the Notion of History. Which that it may more evidently appear, he thinks fit to give you an Account of Two of the Authors whom he hath principally followed; Because One of them living in that very time, and the other either then, or not long after, they may rationally be supposed to have the most certain knowledge of those Transactions.

The first is **Henricus Knighton**, whose Work De Eventibus Angliæ, in Latin, is Printed amongst divers other ancient Histories in that large and accurate Collection, Intituled,

tituled, Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem: *Firſt brought into Publick Light from* Authentick Manuſcripts, *by thoſe two learned* Antiquaries, *Sir* Roger Twyſden *Knight and Baronet*, *and the Famous* John Selden *Eſquire*, (*who both prefixt their* Epiſtles *thereunto.*) *Nor was that* Miraculous Treaſury of all ſolid Learning, *the moſt Reverend* **Uſher** *Primate of* Armaugh, *wanting in Adviſing and Promoting that* Edition.

The Great **Selden** *in his* Preface, Fol. 46. *tells us, That this* **Knighton** *was a* Canon *of the Abbey of* Leiceſter, *and that he* flouriſht *in the time of this King* Richard *the Second, the moſt part of whoſe Reign he wrote, deducing his* Hiſtory *from* **William** *the* Conquerour, *until within Four years before the* Depoſition *of the ſaid King* Richard, viz. *To the year* 1395. *At which time we may ſuppoſe that* Author *was himſelf ſnatcht away by Death, or diſabled by ſome* Diſeaſe, *for elſe he would not ſo abruptly have diſcontinued his* Book. *Which Conjecture is confirmed by what Sir* Roger Twylden *in his* Epiſtle *tells us, That in the* Manuſcript *in the Renowned* **Cotton**'*s* Library, (*which he conceives to be the very* Autographon, *or Original Hand-writing of the* Author, *and from which the ſame was exactly Printed*) *there is in the* firſt Page *an* Inſcription, *Intituled*, Lamentum

tum Compilatoris, **The Compilers Complaint**, *beginning thus*;

Sum Cæcus factus ſubitâ Caligine tactus.
Blind I am grown, with ſudden darkneſs ſtruck.

And thus concluding:

Me Deus alliſit, cum vult ſanare, valebit.
In Domino ſemper ſtat quod relevabitur Æger.
Smitten I am by God, who when he pleaſe
Can help me, and alone cure each Diſeaſe.

——And ſo much for **Knighton.**

The other is **Thomas Walſingham,** *a* Benedictine Monk *belonging to the* Abbey *of S.* Albans; *who for ought appears might likewiſe live in King* Richard's *days, for he is ſaid to have* flouriſht, *that is, to be grown famous by his Labours, about the year* 1440. *And* Leland *gives this Character of him,* In Hiſtoriis Colligendis ſtudioſus atque diligens, *That he was a Perſon very ſtudious and diligent in Collecting or Compiling of Hiſtories. His Hiſtory (herein made uſe of) begins,* An. Dom. 1273, *and ends* Anno 1422.

To theſe cheifly is the preſent work Indebted, and in moſt material paſſages, *they are Cited, and their* very words *ſtrictly Tranſlated, yet ſtill not omitting to conſult other the*

moſt

most credible Historians that have wrote of those times.

And as for the Process *touching the* Deposition *of King* Richard, the Articles *against him*, &c. *The same are punctually* Translated *from the words of the* Record, *as the same* (Examined *and attested*) *are Printed in the said Volum called*, Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores decem, *from* Col. 2743. *to* Col. 2762.

This is all we have to Advertise you, besides intreating the favour to Correct

The Errata of the Press.

As particularly, *p.* 19. *l.* 23. for *he* r. *the*, and *l.* 25. of the same page, for *all whom*, r. *all which seven last*, for the Earl of *Derby*, though then in the *Tower*, was not slain. The other *Mistakes* are less material, and easily both discovered and amended.

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THE

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The Second.

KIng *Richard* the Second was born at *Burdeaux* in *France*, in the Year 1366. His Father was that Renowned Hero *Edward*, commonly called *The Black Prince*, eldeſt Son of the Great and Victorious King, *Edward the Third*. His Mother *Joan* Daughter of the Earl of *Kent*, for her exquiſite Beauty, ſtyled, *The fair Maid of Kent*. And if he were ſo unhappy, as not altogether to Inherit his Grandfathers *Prudence*, and his Fathers *Spirit and Conduct*, yet it cannot be denied but he retained ſomething of his Mothers *Handſomneſs*, being celebated for the *goodlieſt perſonage* and moſt *amiable Countenance* of any King that had been before him ſince the Conqueſt.

His Father, after he had filled both *France* and *Spain* with terrible Trophies of his *Valour*, (having taken the King of the *former* Priſoner, and in the *latter* generouſly by his Arms reſtored *Peter* King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, when injuriouſly driven out of thoſe Realms by the *Arragonians* and *French*) was in the Forty ſixth year of his Age, ſnatcht away by death (ſome ſay haſtned by *Poyſon*) during the life of his Father King *Edward*; who having then three *other Sons* ſtill ſurviving, *viz. John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*; *Edmund* of *Langley* afterwards Earl of *Cambridge*, and Duke of *York*; and *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* afterwards Duke of *Glouceſter*: For preventing any Quarrels after his own deceaſe, and all *Pretenſions* which any of them might make to the Crown, to the prejudice of his Grandchild, (this our Prince *Richard*, to whom as Son of the eldeſt Brother it was adjudged to belong) He reſolves to ſee his Right declared and ſettled in *Parliament*; Creating likewiſe the ſaid *Richard* firſt Earl of *Cheſter* and *Cornwall*, and then *Prince of Wales*; and taking an *Oath* of all the *Lords* of the *Realm* to accept him for their King as his lawfull Heir, when ever himſelf ſhould expire.

Being thus put into the immediate Proſpect of a *Crown*, the *over-burdenſom Glory* came *too faſt* upon his *tender head*, for King *Edward* having overliv'd his *Fortune*, and the better part of himſelf, his Conqueſts abroad being daily raviſht back, and *Alice Price* his Concubine ſhamefully ruling both Him and moſt Affairs at home, oppreſſed with *Grief* and *Age*, (though ſome ſay much more debilitated by the Careſſes of that *petulant Strumpet*) reſign'd

reſign'd his laſt Breath at *Richmond*, the One and twentieth of *June*, *Anno Dom.* 1377, in the Sixty fourth year of his Age, having Reign'd Fifty Years, four Months and odd Days.

Upon the firſt notice of his Death, the City of *London* ſent *Deputies* to Prince *Richard*, (who with the Princeſs his Mother lay then at *Kingſtone*) to acknowledge him their lawfull Sovereign, and requeſt that he would pleaſe to honour them with his Preſence and nearer Reſidence: Which Meſſage was kindly received, and the *young King* ſoon after came to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, and on the Sixteenth day of *July* was ſolemnly *Crowned*; the Citizens ſparing no Coſt to expreſs their *Loyalty* and *zealous Affection* to his Perſon, both in his Paſſage through the Town, and at his *Coronation*; As by ſeveral *Triumphant Arches*, Conduits running with *Wine*, and all other Demonſtrations of a tranſporting Joy; Inſomuch that by ſome of the Nobility he was Ironically called *The Londoner's King*.

His tender Age (being at his Grandfathers death but eleven years old) required ſome *Protector*, or *Chief Managers* of *Publick Affairs*, but to whom to commit ſo weighty *a Truſt*, is the Difficulty: If to *One*, *Ambition* joyned with *Power*, may tempt to *Uſurpation*; Nor wanted they a Precedent at home, whileſt they remembred how King *John* juſtled out his Nephew Prince *Arthur*. If to *ſeveral*, then it be might be feared, that different private Intereſts, Factions, and By-ends, (from which ſcarce any of the Grandees were free) might intangle or retard their Proceedings, ſo as to obſtruct their acting unanimouſly and

chearfully for the Publick Weal: At last hoping to please all *Pretenders*, and considering that from a multitude of Councellors most safery might be expected; They intrusted first the Kings *three Uncles*; but *Lancaster*, whether discontented to have any *Partners*, or that he cared not much to intermeddle, because he had contracted both the Enmity of the *Clergy*, and the dissatisfaction of the *Londoners*: Or whether having a pretence to the Crown of *Castile*, by the Marriage of *Constance* Daughter of the before-mentioned King *Peter*, that he might better pursue his Claim thereunto, wari ly withdrawing himself from that Charge; several other Lords both *Spiritual* and *Temporal* were added, till at last being found *too many*, the same was Conferr'd wholly upon the Earl of *Warwick*, who discharged the Office with good satisfaction.

The *Scotch* and *French* promising themselves Advantages from the Kings Minority, began to make Attempts upon his Territories, almost before he was in possession of the Crown. The *first* surprized the Castle of *Berwick*, the *second* the *Isle of Wight*, and burnt and pillag'd several Towns and Villages on the Coasts, but were both quickly repuls'd and beaten out again.

About two Months after the Coronation, a Parliament is called, which sate from *Michaelmas* to S. *Andrew*'s Day, and Banished *Alice Price*, King *Edward*'s *Mistress*; for that whereas formerly being complained of as a *Grievance* in Parliament, she had sworn never to come again into the Kings *Court* or *Presence*, (which the King had likewise confirmed with his Oath) yet after the

the death of the *Black Priuce*, ſhe had returned and miſgovern'd the King, preſuming to ſit in judicial Courts, and by her Preſence and Influence to wreſt *Juſtice*, and in his ſickneſs flattered him with hopes of Life, ſo that he neglected making Proviſion for his Soul, till he was quite *ſpeechleſs*, whileſt ſhe in the mean time purloyned away the choiceſt things in the Palace, and ſtole even the very *Rings* off his Fingers, and then (like a *right Harlot*) left him gaſping for Life, and unable to ſpeak one word, in the Company only of one poor Prieſt. My Author ſays, when ſhe came now to be queſtioned, ſhe had with *Money* corrupted many of the *Lords*, and *all the Lawyers of England*, who did not only ſecretly but publickly plead and uſe all their Intereſt in her behalf; yet ſhe was ſo vigorouſly proſecuted by the Knights in Parliament, that being by her own Mouth Convicted, ſhe was *Baniſht* the Land, and all her Eſtate moveable and immoveable, forfeited to the *Exchequer*; from whence by the late Kings Favour, or rather *Dotage*, it had unduly been obtain'd.

There was alſo by this Parliament given to the King *Two Tenths* of the Clergy, and *Two Fifteenths* of the *Temporalty*, to be paid the ſame year; but on this Condition, *viz.* That the King for the future ſhould not burden them with more Requeſts of that kind, to draw away his Subjects Money, but would live on his *Demeaſns*, and continue his War; for that (as it was there anſwer'd) His proper *Royal Revenues* were *ſufficient* both to maintain his *Court*, and carry on his *Wars*, if the ſame were but manag'd by *fit* and

truſty Miniſters: And therefore it was agreed, that this Money ſo given, ſhould as it was raiſed, be Depoſited in the Hands of *Two Citizens* of *London*, *William Waller*, and *John Philpot*, who were to ſee it beſtow'd for the Defence of the Realm.

[1378.] This *John Philpot* was an *Alderman* of *London*, a Perſon of no leſs *Courage* than *Prudence*, as appears by the following Exploit: Sometime after the Parliament broke up, and the Money collected; the Duke of *Lancaſter* (to whom nothing almoſt could be denied) was very Importunate to have the ſame delivered to his Diſpoſe, promiſing therewith to free the Nation from all *Invaſions* and *Pyracies*, wherewith it was lamentably infeſted, and to perform other very advantageous Services for the Publick: Whereupon he obtained an Order for the ſame; notwithſtanding the *Proviſo* in the Act, ſo impoſſible it is *de facto* to bind up the Hands of *Power*: But though ſome *Naval Preparations* were made, yet little was effected to repel or prevent thoſe Injuries and Depredations, which the Nation ſuffered by Sea from the *French* on the one ſide, and the *Scottiſh Pickaroons* on the other; ſo that by the common neglect of ſecuring the Coaſts, and *ſcouring* the Seas, our *Merchants* durſt not Traffick abroad for fear of Pyrates, who hovered in every Corner, but eſpecially of one *Mercer*, a bold and potent *Scottiſh Rover*, who having drawn together a conſiderable Fleet of *French*, *Scots*, and *Spaniards*, daily committed inſufferable Outrages, ſpoiling all they met; hereupon the ſaid *Alderman Philpot* firſt complained of theſe *Grievances*, to the Kings *Council*, humbly Remonſtrating the Damages ſuſtained, and

and imploring *Redreſs*; But receiving from them only fair *Promiſes*, and no *Relief*, full of *grief* and *diſdain* to ſee his Country-men thus devoured by thoſe inſolent *Water-vermin*; He at length Provided, Victualled, and Man'd forth at his *own proper Coſts and Charges*, a competent Fleet of tall Ships, himſelf *in perſon*, putting forth with them to Sea, where he ſoon encountred the Pyrates, *took* the ſaid *Mercer*, deſtroyed his Ships, and recovered moſt of the Prizes formerly taken, with Fifteen *Spaniſh Bottoms* well fraught with Riches, beſides many *French* and *Scottiſh* Ships, and ſo return'd with *Triumph* and the general *Acclamations* of the People: But *Envy* is always the Attendant of extraordinary *Vertue*, inſtead of Thanks or Reward, ſeveral of the *Nobles* from whom he ſeemed to have ſnatcht by this his fortunate Attempt, the Glory of that Service, which their Country juſtly, though in vain expected from them, paſſed harſh Cenſures on his forwardneſs; and particularly the Earl of *Stafford* call'd him in queſtion at the *Council-Table*, for preſuming (being but a private man) for to levy Arms, and equip a Fleet without Authority: But *Philpot* with a *prudent Gallantry*, compoſed of an undaunted Innocency, and an humbe Merit, gave ſuch a juſtifiable Account of the Act, as ſatisfied the *Board*, or at leaſt ſilenc'd his Accuſers: For thus in particular to that Lord, he is ſaid to have anſwered, *I would have your Honour undoubtedly know, that I did not adventure my Money, my Perſon, and my Men to the dangers of the Sea, and hazards of War, with any deſign to Rob your Lordſhip, and your Collegues, of the Glory of Chivalry, or Fame of Military Atcheive-*

ments, and gain it to my ſelf. But condoling the loſſes of my fellow Citizens, and miſery of my Country which by your ſloth from a moſt noble Kingdome, giving Laws to all her Neighbours, is ſunk into ſo deplored a ſtate as to ly open to the Inſolencies and Pillagings of the vileſt of Nations and men, whilſt yet not one of you lent an hand to her defence, I freely expoſed my ſelf and mine for her deliverance, and the publick ſafety, to which the Earl had nothing to reply.

About the ſame time, *viz.* in the Second Year of the King, there happened a Fray which (not ſo much for the importance of the Quarrel, as a *rare Example* of Fidelity and honeſty attending it) I cannot but Relate; Though even the thing it ſelf in thoſe ignorantly zealous times, wanted not its ill Influence on the *Publick*, and the *Monkiſh Hiſtorians* cry out about it as Tragically, as if Heaven and Earth were ingag'd, all Chriſtianity at Stake, and the Pillars of Religion in danger. The buſineſs thus; Two valiant Squires, *Robert Haule*, and *John Schakel*, in the late Warrs in *Spain* under Prince *Edward*, chanc'd to take the *Count de Dena*, a *Spaniſh Don* of great Quality and Eſtate, who was fairly by the Law of Arms adjudg'd their Priſoner, and brought into *England*, where he left his Eldeſt Son with them as a Pledge, whilſt he went home to raiſe his ranſome, the Son ſwearing to continue with them till it came; but the Father being got into *Spain*, never regarded to ſend the money, but in little time *dies*, whereby the Honour and Eſtate devolves to the *Young Hoſtage*; which being underſtood by King *Edward*, (for in his daies happened this firſt part of the Story) both he and

Prince

Prince *Edward* his Son, were very importunate with theſe two Gentlemen, to releaſe the *Spaniſh Cavaleir*, which they deſired either in favour to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who thought by the help of this Nobleman to facilitate his pretentions to the Crown of *Caſtile*, or elſe with an intent to Match him to *Mathilda* Relict of the Lord *Courtney*, the Kings Siſter; but no matter what their Deſign was, the Squires were ſo far from parting with him, that they would not *diſcover* where he was, and ſo were ſend to the *Tower*, whence making their eſcape they took *Sanctuary* in *Weſtminſter Abbey*, and there continued, till now the Duke of *Lancaſter* reſolved to ferret them out, to which purpoſe Fifty men at Arms were ſent thither, who entring the *Sanctuary*, put a trick upon *John Schakel*, and ſoon got him out and hurried him to the *Tower*; but as for *Haule*, he was more ſtrongly *Enſconc*'d in the Church amongſt the *Monks*, and at *Maſs*, however thither they went, and after a little expoſtulation why he would ſo refractorily diſobey the Kings Command, when even Majeſty had condeſcended to a requeſt? they tell him, he muſt go with them, which he peremptorily refuſes, and draws a ſhort Sword and makes at them; whereupon they reſolve to force him away, who ſtill making reſiſtance, was at laſt knockt on the Head amongſt them, which our Author calls *Crown'd with Martyrdome*: the *Monks* would fain have reſcued him, but durſt not, becauſe they ſaw the Souldiers *too ſtrong* for them, however the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* preſently thundred out an *Excommunication* againſt theſe Violaters of the *Sanctuary* and all their abetters, the King and his Mother, and his Unckle

Lancaſter

Lancaſter only excepted; And the Biſhop of *London* did the like for ſeveral daies together, but about a Year after by the mediation of divers Grave and Venerable Perſons, the matter was compoſed on theſe Terms: that the ſaid *Schakel*, who was ſo ſent to the *Tower*, ſhould diſcover and deliver up the ſaid *Count de Dena*, and ſo be ſet at liberty, upon conſideration, that the King ſhould ſettle upon him Lands, to the value of an *Hundred Marks*, *per annum*, and pay him down Five Hundred Marks ready Money, in lieu of the expected *Ranſome*, and alſo that his Majeſty for ſatisfaction to the Church, ſhould at his proper Charges erect a *Chauntry* of Five Prieſts for ever, to *pray for the Soul* of him whom his Officers had ſo ſlain, though one would have thought dying, in their Opinion, a Martyr, he might have had no great *need* of ſuch everlaſting *Oriſons*. But ſtill the moſt ſurprizing Intrigue of the Tragedy is behind, when *Schakel* came to produce his Captive, he ſhew'd them *his man* that waited on him; for the brave *Spaniard* had that regard to his Word which he had paſſed, that he ſcorn'd to diſcover himſelf without his leave, but on the contrary had all along both in the *Sanctuary*, and in the *Tower*, faithfully and ſubmiſſively ſerv'd him in diſguiſe, neglecting both his *Quality* and *Intereſt* when they ſtood in competition with his *Honour*; a piece of Gallantry and *generous Honeſty*, ſcarc'd to be parallel'd in Story.

About the Feaſt of S. *Luke*, a *Parliament* was held at *Gloceſter*, with an intent as was thought to have Clipp'd the Wings of the *Towering Church-men*, but finding their Intereſt too ſtrong, nothing of that kind was offered, but for the Kings further ſupply,

ſupply, it was granted, that he ſhould have of the Merchants for every Sack of *Wool* Exported a Mark, and for every 20 Shillings of Wares or Merchandizes whatſoever imported from beyond the *Seas*, Six pence, to be paid by the buyer.

[1379.] The next year, another *Parliament* was called at *London*, where the Priviledges of the *Sanctuary* at *Weſtminſter* were regulated, for whereas before great numbers of Perſons when they were got in *Debt*, would ſhelter themſelves, and waſte in revelling and debauchery their Revenues, which could not be touched for their juſt *Debts*, to the grievous prejudice of their Creditors, it was now *ordain'd*, that if upon *Proclamation* made, they ſhould not ſurrender themſelves, then their *Goods* ſhould be ſold and their *Lands* extended, where-ever found, till their *Debts* ſatisfied. There was alſo a new *Tax* granted, but becauſe the *Commons* were already much impoveriſht, it was laid only on the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Clergy*, by way of *Poll*, viz. *Dukes*, and *Archbiſhops*, Ten Marks a piece; every *Earl*, *Biſhop*, and *Mitred Abbot*, Six Marks, beſides each *Abbot* to pay Forty Pence *per* Head for all his *Monks*; and ſo *Juſtices*, *Sheriffs*, *Knights*, *Eſquires*, *Rectors*, *Vicars*, and even down to ſimple *Chaplains*, every one his allotment.

This ſummer there was a moſt dreadful *Peſtilence* in *England*, eſpicially in the *Northern parts*, inſomuch that whole Families were ſwept away. Nay *Towns* and *Villages* left without Inhabitants: during the Heat of which Calamity, the *Scots* took their Advantage to enter the *Land*, and Committed great ſpoils in ſmall parties, but durſt not ſtay for fear of the Infection, and yet (as our Author relates)

relates) they had got a wonderful *Preſervative* againſt it: for asking ſome *Engliſh*, the reaſon of ſo great a Mortality amongſt them, and being told it came by *the Grace of God*, they therefore every Morning with great ſolemnity uſed this *Charm*, or (if any Body will call it ſo) Prayer—*God* and *Saint Mango*, *Saint Roman*, and *Saint Andrew*, *ſhield us this day* from *God's Grace*, *and the foul Death that Engliſh men die upon.*

[1380.] The next Year in *Jan.* the *Parliament* was again Aſſembled at *London*, and continued till *March*, wherein to avoid unneceſſary Charge it was agreed, that the *Tutelage* of the King, ſhould be committed but to one, and by unanimous conſent, *Thomas Beuchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, was pitch'd upon for the Man, an Honourable allowance being aſſign'd to him out of the Royal *Exchequer* for his pains and care therein to be taken; but the Young King though a *Minor* as to the Publick Affairs, thought himſelf of Age ſufficient at leaſt to conduct himſelf in his private and perſonal concerns; for though for want of ripenning experience, his Wiſdome had not time to Bud, yet his *Will* was grown to full *Strength*: being already Plunged in the Gulf of pleaſure, and Vanities of Youth, he ſet himſelf to Promote ſuch as moſt pleaſed him with *Flatteries*, rather than ſuch as were truly qualified to ſerve him with ſolid Council and able conduct; whence aroſe Three *fatal miſchiefs*: for Firſt, his Affairs were indiſcreetly managed, and without ſucceſs, by reaſon unfit Miniſters were imploy'd about them: Secondly, debauchery was increaſed, Firſt, in the *Court*, and next throughout the Kingdome, for many of the *Young Nobility*; obſerving

obſerving the ſecret *favours* and *diſtaſtes* of the King, ſtudying in all things to gratifie his pleaſure, gave up themſelves to diſſolute and *diſhonourable* courſes; which *ill precedents* deſcended like an Infection amongſt the Gentry and Commonalty; for *Vice* alwaies finds too many followers, even when it hath no incouragers, but much more doth it increaſe, when fluſht with *Great Examples*, and made the *Scale* of preferment. And laſtly the King by thus miſplaceing his favours impaired the *Veneration* due to Majeſty, became *Cheap* in the Eyes of his Subjects, and leſs reſpected, for it is almoſt as dangerous to a Prince to have evil and *deſpiſed Favourites* and Adherents: as to be evil or deſpicable himſelf. In this Parliament was granted a Tenth from the *Clergy* and a Fifteenth from the *Laiety*, but on condition, that from thence, which was *March* 1380. to *Michaelmas* 1381. there ſhould be no more Parliamets; that is, no more Money rais'd.

This Summer the King and Council ſent a ſtrong *Army* to aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretaigne*, under the Command of his Uncle *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Sir *Thomas Peircy*, &c. who landing at *Callice*, forced their paſſage through the Body of *France*, leading their *Troops* to and fro, and laying the Countrey waſte at their pleaſure, without any reſiſtance, till they came to the Borders of *Bretaign*, where they were joyfully received, but the very *Terror* of their March, had diſpoſed the *French* to an accomodation, ſo that they made peace with the Duke of *Bretaign*, whereupon our Army without any other advantages, but thoſe of *Renown* and Glory returned home.

Notwithſtanding it was agreed in the laſt Parliament

ment to the contrary, yet by the too great prevalency of ſome Councellors, a Parliament againſt the will and conſent of almoſt all the *Great Men* of the Land, was this ſame Year about the feaſt of S. *Martin*, (which is *Novemb.* 10th) Conven'd at *Northampton*, a place moſt *unfit* for ſuch an Aſſembly, as well for that it was *Winter*, and ſcarce any fewel for *Fireing* there to be procured, as alſo becauſe it afforded not *Lodgings* enow to entertain thoſe that ſhould have reſorted thither: but perhaps ſo much the *more fit* for the deſign of the *ſmall Politicians*; for here they got paſt a very *ſevere Tax*, or *Poll-Bill*. Whereby every Prieſt, Secular, or Religious, was to pay a Noble, and every *Nun* as much, and every Man and Woman, Marryed or unmarryed, being of the Age of Sixteen Years, Twelve Pence, (Beggars only excepted) the paying whereof was eſteem'd very grievous by the People, eſpecially of the poorer ſort. And that which aggravated their miſery was, that when it came into the Exchequer, it was ſo handled by thoſe imployed about it, that it amounted not to ſomuch as ſome former *Taxes*, which were given in leſs proportion: whereupon ſome of the Kings Miniſters complained that it had not been duly Collected; and one *John Legg*, and three of his Aſſociates, obtained a *Commiſſion* to Inſpect and review the Levy, bargaining to give the King a great Sum of Money for the ſame; but indeed on that pretence committing horrible *Oppreſſions*, *Exactions*, and *Inſolencies* in divers parts, eſpecially in *Kent*, *Norfolk*, and the adjacent Counties.

Hence immediately after, *viz.* in the Spring of the year 1381. aroſe one of the moſt formidable and

and miſchievous *Inſurrections* that had been heard of almoſt in any Age; the old *Bellum ſervile* of the *Romans* was acted in *England*, but with greater Impudence and miſchief; the *Slaves* are in Arms, and the very *Dregs* of the people will be Lords and Maſters. The true *Cauſes* or *Occaſions* of this unexpected Confuſion are very differently related, ſome Monkiſh Hiſtorians (followed blindfold by ſome later Authors) out of hatred to *Wickliffe* and his *Tenets*, (which now began to be much diſſeminated, and of which we ſhall by and by give a further Account) attributed it chiefly to his *Doctrine*: for 'tis an ordinary thing to proclaim all Evills, concurring with any Attempts of Reformation in Religion, to be proper *fruits* thereof; as the Heathens of old imputed all their Calamities to the then new and riſing Sect of the *Chriſtians*: But as we find nothing in that good mans real Poſitions (for ſeveral of his *Works* are yet extant) to foment ſuch a lewd Rebellion; ſo neither do the more Impartial Authors of that Age lay it at his Door: though 'tis agreed, one *Ball* a factious Clergy-man was an Incendiary of that Combuſtion, which ſeems in its Original aſcribable to the natural deſire of *Liberty*, and pride of Humane Nature, impatient of Superiority, ſince the *Villains* or *Bondmen* were chief in the Tumult; and partly to the heavy *Taxes* and *Inſolencies* of the Collectors, and eſpecially of theſe New Farmers of the Subſidy, or Commiſſioners, which exaſperated the common people into a Mutiny. But whatever were the *Provocations*, diſmall were the *Effects*, and might have prov'd *fatal* to the utter ruine of the Kingdome, had not the Providence of God wonderfully prevented it. Nor

Nor is it leſs diſputable where the Uproar began, ſome ſay in *Eſſex*, ſome in *Kent*; for the *Flame* was ſo ſuddenly ſpread into divers places, that they could ſcarce tell where the *Fire* broke forth, and who firſt headed them, is alſo uncertain; ſome ſpeak of one *Thomas* a Baker of *Fobhyngges*; others of *Walter Tyler* at *Deptford* in *Kent*, to be the Ringleader: but the moſt received Tradition is thus. That one of the ſaid Collectors of Poll-money, coming to the houſe of the ſaid *Tyler* (ſo called from his Trade) and requiring of his Wife to pay for a Daughter of hers, whom ſhe affirmed was not of age to pay, the rude Fellow told her, he would preſently ſee whether ſhe were ſo or not, and forceably turn'd up her Coats, whereupon the Mother made ſuch an Out-cry, that her Husband being at work hard by, heard her, and came running with his *Lathing Staff* in his hand, wherewith he beat out the Collectors Brains, and knowing that for the ſame he muſt be hang'd, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by greater Crimes, drawing together the Rabble, and incenſing them, (who of themſelves were but too ready) unto a *Rebellion*: Thus Multitudes flockt together, broke open the Gaol at *Maidſtone*, where the before-mentioned *Ball* the Prieſt was then a Priſoner, who having gain'd his Liberty, march'd along with them; And they growing ſtill more numerous, (ſome write an Hundred thouſand ſtrong) came to *Blackheath*, where he made a ſeditious Preachment to them, taking for his Text or Theme the old Proverb;

When

When Adam *Delv'd and* Eve *Span,*
Who was then a Gentleman?

From thence telling them, "That by deſcent "from *Adam*, all men were of one Condition; "That the Laws of the Realm were injurious to "Chriſtian Liberty, and unjuſt by making ſuch "difference of mens Eſtates, preferring ſome to "be Peers and Potentates, with great Authority "and large Poſſeſſions, whereby they took advan- "tage of the humble pliable Condition of others, "to keep them in ſlavery, hardly affording them "Suſtenance; whereas there ought to be an equal "ſharing of all things, and that in common, *&c.*

This *Doctrine* was extreamly pleaſing to theſe *Raggamuffins*, who animated thus with Multitudes, and holding Correſpondence with others as mad as themſelves in other Counties, they Arreſted all *Strangers* that they met with, making them ſwear *to be true to King* Richard, *and to the Commons, and never to own any King that ſhould be called* John: Which they did out of ſpight to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, againſt whom they had an implacable Malice. They likewiſe Beheaded all *Lawyers* they could catch, ſaying, Till they were rooted out, the Land would never injoy free Liberty.

At *Black-heath* they ſent for the King to hear their Grievances, but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Lord *Treaſurer*, diſſwaded him from venturing his Royal Perſon amongſt them, which being underſtood by the Commons, they were thereupon more enraged againſt thoſe two, calling them *Traytors*; and to be revenged imme-

diately march towards *London*; in *Southwark* they diſcharge all Priſoners, and when the Mayor of *London* would have pull'd up the Draw-bridge and ſhut the Gates againſt them, the Rabble of the City would not ſuffer him, ſo that all that Night they came in and out at their pleaſure; being the more favoured, becauſe hitherto they ſpoiled no man, but honeſtly paid for all they had, ſaying, They came not as Robbers, but to bring Malefactors to juſtice: The King to prevent Miſchief, ſent them word to meet him at *Mile-End*, where he would hear their Complaints, and part of them accordingly went thither, where the King gave them a Charter under the great Seal of *England*, That thenceforth all the Men of *England* ſhould be free, and diſcharg'd from the Tenure of Villenage, and all Bondage of that kind. The Tenour of which Charter of *Manumiſſion*, as it was given to them, and within few days ſent into ſeveral Counties, was as follows.

RICHARD, By the Grace of God King of England, and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all his Bayliffs and faithful Subjects to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting, Know ye, That of our ſpecial Grace, we have Manumiſs'd, or ſet free all and ſingular our Liege Subjects, and other of the County of E. and them and every of them from all Bondage do Releaſe and Acquit by theſe Preſents. And alſo we pardon

don to our ſaid Liege-men and Subjects, all manner of Felonies, Treaſons, Tranſgreſſions, and Extortions, by them or any of them, in any manner whatſoever done or committed; and alſo all and every Outlawry or Outlawries, if any be or ſhall be Publiſhed againſt them, or any of them, for or by occaſion of the Premiſſes; and do thereof to them and every of them grant Our higheſt Peace: In witneſs whereof We have cauſed theſe Our Letters to be made Patent: Witneſs Our ſelf at London, the Fifteenth of June, in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

Upon this Conceſſion, moſt of the *Eſſex-men* that met at *Mile-End* went home; but while this was doing, others that ſtaid behind in *London*, enter'd the *Tower*, and dragg'd out thence *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Son, and but a Youth; *Simon* of *Sudbury*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*; *Robert Hales* Prior of the Hoſpital, and Treaſurer of *England*; he before-mentioned *John Legg*, and one *John* a Minorite, being a Crony of *Lancaſter*'s, and three others, all whom they forthwith Beheaded, carrying their Heads on Poles, as in Triumph: And now being heated with both Wine and Blood, they march to the *Savoy*, and burn the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s ſtately Palace, (the beſt Houſe in *England*) with all its *rich furniture* to Aſhes, breaking in pieces all his

Plate and Jewels of ineſtimable value, and flinging them into the *Thames*, and when one of their Fellows was ſpy'd to thruſt a piece of Plate into his Boſom, they preſently flung both *it* and *him* into the fire to be deſtroy'd together, ſaying, They came not like *Thieves* to inrich themſelves; but of Liquors they were not ſo ſcrupulous; for two and thirty of them being got into the Dukes Wine-Cellar, Tippled ſo long till the Rafters of the Houſe on fire fell down, and ſtopt the Paſſage that they could not get out, but were heard to cry ſeven days after, and ſo periſhed. From the *Savoy* they came back to the *Temple*, and burnt the Lawyers Lodgings, Books, Papers, and all Records they could meet with: The Houſe of S. *Johns* by *Smithfield*, they ſet fire to, ſo that it burnt ſeven days; Nor had they any regard to Churches, but forc'd out ſuch as fled thither for Sanctuary, and Beheaded them, for they us'd no other manner of Execution to high or low.

That Night, wearied with ſpoil, and generally Drunk, they lay Sleeping like Swine in the open ſtreets, and under the walls: and the next day being routed together again, the King with a ſmall Guard coming to *Smithfield*, offered a Pardon to all ſuch as yet after all theſe Outrages would ceaſe from the like for the future, and go quietly home. Whereupon *Wat Tyler* declared, that he was for Peace very willingly, provided it were on ſuch Terms as he ſhould approve of, therefore to underſtand what he would have, one Sir *John Newton*, is ſent to invite and deſire (for ſo they were glad in that Juncture of Affairs to complement his Sawcyneſs) *Wat* to come and Treat thereof with the King;

King; and when the Knight urg'd him to make haſte, he anſwered with ſome Indignation; *If thou art in ſuch haſte, go back to thy Maſter the King; I'le come when I ſee my own time.* However he ſoon followed him on Horſe-back, but ſlowly for the greater State, and being come near the King, the ſame Knight was Commanded to go to him, and receive and bring back his propoſals. *Tylar* offended, becauſe this meſſenger came to him mounted, told him it became him to alight from his Horſe in his Preſence; and therewith drew out his Dagger to ſtrike him: but the King to pacify him, made him alight: the *Demands* which *Tylar* made, beſides a General Enfranchiſement of the Bond-men, (which the King had already granted) were, That all *Warrens*, *Parks*, and *Chaſes*, ſhould be made Common and Free to all, ſo that as well the Poor, as the Rich, ſhould have liberty to fiſh, foul, and hunt in all Places throughout the Kingdome; with ſeveral other the like extravagant demands: in which *Tylar* behav'd himſelf ſo inſolently, that the Kings attendants could not but repreſent to his Majeſty that it was inſufferable, and the before celebrated *John Philpot*, according to his uſual Courage told the King; that if his Majeſty would but command his Lieutenant, *viz.* the Mayor, to Arreſt the Traytor, he would loſe his life if it were not happily accompliſh't; whereupon the King was prevailed with to give ſuch a Command, or rather leave, to *William Walworth*, then Mayor of *London*; who waiting an opportunity, and obſerving *Tylar* to play with his Dagger, toſſing it from hand to hand, as if he meant ſome miſchief, and that at laſt (to what intend is not known, whether out of rude-

neſs, or deſign) he laid one of his hands upon the Kings Bridle, fearing the Ruffian might attempt his Royal perſon, inſtantly Executed his Arreſt, by giving him a Blow on his Head with a Dagger; which was ſeconded with *Philpot*'s Sword and another's in his Body, ſo that immediately he fell down dead on the ground; when the Rabble ſaw this, they began furiouſly to Cry out, *O our Captain is Slain, our Captain is Murdered. Let's revenge the death of our Captain*, &c. But the King, with a Courage and Ingenuity beyond any thing could be expected from his Years, (for he was not yet above Fifteen) Clapt Spurs to his Horſe and rod to the Head of them, crying aloud, *What mean you my men? or what do you do? Will you ſhoot your King, you ſhall have no cauſe to grieve for the death of that Traytor and Ribauld; I that am the King, will be your Captain, and your Leader: Follow me into the Field, and you ſhall have whatever you will?*

Upon which words, amaz'd, and not certainly reſolv'd either of one anothers minds, nor indeed each man of his own, they followed a while, till Sir *Richard Knolls*, with a Thouſand armed men, raiſed in the mean time by the Mayor, came upon them out of the City, at whoſe approach (being now Head-leſs, and all in confuſion) they were ſo terrifi'd, that they forthwith flung down what arms they had, and begg'd for Mercy; which the King granted, and withal gave them a Charter of Freedome in form as before recited; but proclaim'd, that no Citizen ſhould have any correſpondence with any of them, nor ſuffer them to come within the Liberties: And ſo this dreadful rout, from the height of Inſolence was in a moment ſcattered and reduced

reduced to the depth of miſery and fear, ſneaking back by ſtealth into the Country: many in their paſſage ſlain or periſhing for want, and multitudes of them ſoon after Executed.

For this good ſervice, the King upon the place confer'd the Honour of Knight-hood, upon the ſaid *John Walworth* Mayor, and *John Philpot*, as likewiſe on *Nicholas Brembre*, *John Land*, and *Nicholas Twyford*, Citizens of *London*. And in memory of ſo Honourable an exploit, perform'd by the Mayor, the Dagger hath ('tis ſaid) ever ſince that time been added in the Citty Aarms; which before bore only the Croſs.

But though things were thus appeas'd at *London*, there was ſtill no leſs Hurley-burley in ſeveral Counties: At Saint *Albans*, they Committed many Out-rages, and Cancell'd the Antient Charter of the *Abbot* and *Monks*. In *Suffolk* there were ſwarm'd together Fifty thouſand Villains, under the Conduct of one *John Straw*, a lewd Prieſt, who beheaded Sir *John Cavendiſh*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and ſet his Head on the Pillory in St. *Edmunds Bury*. The like commotions alſo there were at the ſame time in *Norfolke*, *Cambridge-ſhire*, and the *Iſle* of *Ely*, at the Inſtigation of one *Littleſter*, a Dyer, who called himſelf King of the Commons, and forc'd ſeveral Lords, and perſons of Quality to be ſworn to them, and ride along with them to Countenance their proceedings; but theſe were for the moſt part ſubdu'd and diſpers'd, by the active valour of *Hugh Spenſer*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, who gathering an Army together ſet upon the Rebels with incredible fury, purſuing them from place to place, and giving no Quarter to any of them.

It is to be noted, that these Rebels in several shires held Correspondence, and their Leaders sent abroad their Epistles of advice, and incouragement; some of which (as they were afterwards taken and own'd) I shall insert, for the Readers diversion; that he may admire the stile of these popular *Orators*, and observe what strength of persuasion there was in Non-sense.

A LETTER of *John Ball* to the COMMONS in *ESSEX*.

JOhn Sheep sometime S. Mary Priest of York, and now of Colchester, Greeteth well John Nameless, and John the Miller, and John Carter, and biddeth them beware of Guil in Borough, and stand together in Gods Name, and biddeth Piers Plowman go to his werk, and Chastise well Hob the Robber, and take with you John Trewman, and all his Fellows, and no mo. John the Miller hath yground small, small, small; The Kings Son of Heven shall pay for all. Beware, or ye be wo; know your Frende fro your foe, have ynough, and say Ho, and do well and better, and flee sinne, and seek peace, and hold you therein: And so biddeth John Trewman, and all his Fellows.

Ano-

Another.

JOhn Ball gretyth you wele All, and doth you to underſtand, he hath rungen the Bell; Now ryght and myght, wyll and skyll, God ſpede every y dele. Now is time, Lady help to Jheſu thi Sone, and thi Sone to his Fadur, to make a gode end, in the name of the Trinity, of that is begun: Amen, Amen, pur Charite, Amen.

Another.

JOhn Bell S. Mary Prist gretes wele all manner men, and byddes them in the name of the Trinity Fadur and Son, and holy Ghoſt, ſtond manlyche togedyr in trewthe, and helpes trewthe, and trewthe ſhall helpe yowe: Now regneth Pryde in pryſe, and Covetous is hold wiſe; and Lechery without en ſhame, and Glotony without en blame. Envie regneth with treſon, and ſouthe is take in grete ſeſone. God do bote, for now is the time. Amen, in Eſex, Southfolc, and Northfolc.

Jack

Jack the Millers Epiſtle.

JAKK Mylner asket help to turne his Mylne aright. He hath grounden ſmall, ſmall, The Kings Son of Heven he ſhall pay for all. Look thy Mylne do a right, with the foure Sailes, and the Poſt ſtand in ſtedfaſtneſſe. With right and with might, with ſkill and with will, lat might help right, and ſkill go before will, and right before might, than goeth our Mylne aright. And if might go before right, and will before skill, than is our Mylne myſadyght.

Jack the Carter's.

JAKK Carter pryes yow all, that ye make a gode end of that ye have begunnen,, and doth wele, and ay better and better, for at the even men heryth the day: for if the end be wele than is all wele. Lat Peres the Plowman my Brother duele at home, and dyght his Corn, and I will go with yow, and help that ye may ſo dyght your mete and your drynk, that ye none fayle. Lokke that Hobb Robbyoure be wele chaſtiſed for leſing of your Grace, for ye have grete

nede

nede to take God with yow in all yowr dedes, for now is time to beware.

Jack Trewmans Scrol.

IAkk Trewman doth yow to understand, that falsneſs and gile habith regned to long, and trewth hath been ſette under a Lokke, and falsneth and gile regneth in everylk Flokke. No man may come trewth to, bothe ſyng Si dedero. Spekke, ſpend, and ſpede quoth Jon of Bathon, and therefore ſinn fareth as wilde flode, trew love is a way that was ſo gode, and Clerks for welth worth hem wo. God do bote, for nowze is time.

The *Storm* being thus happily over-blown, the Rebels ſuddenly maſter'd, and a competent Force raiſed to ſecure the Peace of the Kingdom, it was quickly thought fit to *revenge* ſuch an Affront, and bring the Delinquents to Juſtice: In order to which, the King as ſoon as he could do it with ſafety to himſelf and the Publick, revokes his former Charters of Manumiſſion and Pardon, by a *Proclamation* under his Great Seal, in theſe Terms.

RICHARD, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *and* France, *and Lord of* Ireland; *To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting: Although in the late deteſtable Diſturbance, horribly made by divers*

divers of our Leige People and Subjects riſing up againſt our Peace, certain Letters Patent of ours were made at the importunate Inſtance of the Rebels, containing, **That** *We have freed all Our Liege People, Common Subjects, and others of the ſeveral Counties of Our Realm of* England, *and them, and every of them diſcharged and acquitted from all Bondage and Service.* **And alſo,** *That we have pardon'd them all manner of Inſurrections by them againſt Us made, and all manner of Treaſons, Felonies, Tranſgreſſions, and Extortions, by them or any of them committed.* **As alſo,** *all Outlawries Publiſht againſt them, or any of them, on thoſe Occaſions; Or that we have granted to them and every of them Our firm Peace: And that Our Will was, That Our ſaid Leige People and Subjects ſhould be free to buy and Sell in all Cities, Burroughs, Towns, Markets, and other Places within the Kingdom of* England; *and that no Acre of Land which holds in Bondage or Villenage, ſhould be accounted higher than at Four Pence; And if any were before held for leſs, that it ſhould not be Raiſed for the future.* **Yet** *for that ſuch Our Letters did Iſſue without Mature Deliberation, and unduly, We well weighing, that the Grant of the ſaid Letters doth manifeſtly tend to the very great prejudice of Us and Our Crown,*

and

and to the Diſinheriſon *as well of us, and the Prelates and Nobility of Our ſaid Realm, as of the* Holy Anglicane Church, *and alſo to the* Damage *and* Incommodity *of the* Common-wealth. *Therefore by the Advice of Our Council, We have* Revoked, made void, *and do* utterly annul *the ſaid Letters, and whatever hath been done or follow'd thereupon, willing that none of what ſtate or condition ſoever he be, ſhall any way have or reap, or enjoy any liberty or benefit whatſoever, of or by the ſaid Letters. For we will, and 'tis our Intention, by the Advice of Our ſound Council, for the future, to impart ſuch Grace and favour to all and ſingular, although they have grievouſly forfeited their Allegiance, as ſhall be well-pleaſing, and profitable to Our Realm, and with which our faithfull Subjects may reaſonably hold themſelves contented. And this we do notifie to all perſons concern'd, by theſe Preſents, Commanding the ſame to be Proclaimed in all Cities, Towns, Villages,* &c. *And further We ſtrictly require and command, That all and ſingular as well Free as Bond-men, ſhall without any Contradiction, murmuring, reſiſtance or difficulty, do and perform the Works, Cuſtoms, and Services, which to Us or any other their Lords they ought to do, and which before the ſaid Diſturbance were us'd to be*

done

done, without leſſening or delaying the ſame. And that they do not preſume to require, pretend to or claim any other Liberties or Priviledges, than what they reaſonably had before the ſaid Tumults. And that all ſuch as have any of Our ſaid Letters of Manumiſſion and Pardon in their Cuſtody, ſhall immediately bring and reſtore the ſame to Us and Our Council to be Cancelled, upon the Faith and Allegiance in which to Us they are bound, and upon pain of forfeiting All that to Us they can forfeit for the future. In Teſtimony whereof, *We have cauſed theſe Our Letters to be made Patent.* **Witneſs Our Self at** Chelmsford, *the Second Day of* July, *in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.*

By this Revocation, all pretenſions of pleading a Pardon being cut off, proceedings were next made againſt the principal offenders, ſeveral of them being convicted before the Mayor, and beheaded, as *Jack Straw*, *John Kirkby*, *Alane Tradder*, and *John Sterling*, which laſt boaſted that he was the man that Slew the Archbiſhop. Alſo Sir *Robert Treſilian* Chief Juſtice, was impowr'd by ſpecial Commiſſion, to Judge others of the Rebels, before whom in ſundry places, above Fifteen Hundred were found Guilty, and put to death; and amongſt them the before mentioned Incendiary *Ball*, the Prieſt, who being taken at *Coventry*, was brought before the King at Saint *Albans*, and there drawn, hang'd and Quartered.

During

During theſe Uproars, the Duke of *Lancaſter* (very happily for the preſervation of his Perſon, againſt whom the Commons had ſo great a ſpite) was gone into the *North* againſt the *Scots*, but having Tydings of the Inſurrection, thought fit to clap up a Truce for Two years, which he got ratified upon Oath ſome daies before the *Scots* had any notice of the Troubles in *England*; but conceiving himſelf in danger, for the general (though falſe) report was, that the King to pacifie the Rebels had conſented to abandon him to their pleaſure, when ever they could ſeize him, and having received ſome Affronts in that diſtreſs from the Earl of *Northumberland*, he deſired of the *Scots*, a ſafe Conduct, and to reſide for a time amongſt them, who honourably entertain'd him, till he was ſent for by the King, and then a new cauſe of grudge happened between him, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, for in his return, he was denied paſſage through the Town of *Barwick* by the Captain Sir *Matthew Redman*, by vertue of a command from the ſaid *Earl Lord Warden* of the Marches, not to ſuffer any from *Scotland* to enter the ſame, which indeed the King had ſpecially ordered, forgetting the Dukes being then in that Kingdome. However this bred ſuch an Animoſity in the Duke againſt the Earl, that being come home, he charged him with ſeveral things, which the Earl as ſtoutly anſwered, and great numbers of armed men followed each of them, but the King taking their differences into his own hands, work't a Reconciliation.

About *All-hallontide*, began a Parliament, but had not accompliſht any thing of moment before they were adjourn'd 'till after *Chriſtmas*, by reaſon

of

of the arrival of the new Queen, Siſter of *Wynceſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, and elected Emperour: an Alliance of ſome Honour, but little profit to the *Realm*, ſhe being followed with a multitude of *inſatiate Bohemians*; who by the Kings facility, drain'd abundance of wealth out of the Kingdome. It was obſerved, that as ſoon as ever ſhe ſet foot on ſhore at *Dover*, an horrible ſtorm aroſe at Sea, which ſo toſſed the Ships, in the Harbour, that the ſame which her Majeſty came in, was immediately daſht to pieces; which ſome then lookt upon as Ominous, preſaging Tempeſts of State to follow her.

[1382.] The Nuptial ſolemnities, which were very ſplendid and coſtly, being over, the PARLIAMENT meets again, to begin the New Year, in which ſeveral wholeſome Laws were ordain'd: as to admit Merchant ſtrangers, freely to ſell their Merchandizes here, to regulate Exceſſes in the apparel of inferior People, to ſettle the price of Wines, and many other matters. But what (ſaith our Author, *Thomas Walſingham*, condemning ſuch practices) *ſignify Acts of Parliament, when after they are made, they take no effect, or are nothing regarded, for the King with his Privy Council, took upon them to alter or wholly ſet aſide all things, that by general conſent had in Parliament been eſtabliſhed.*

Of the truth whereof, there were too many unhappy Inſtances, as amongſt the reſt, in this very Parliament, upon the requeſt of the Lords and Commons, Sir *Ri. Scroop*, was by the King appointed Lord Chancellor, as being a Perſon of known Judgement, learning, and inflexible integrity: but within few Months, he was turn'd out of that Office, (which he had laudably and prudently adminiſtred) meerly

ly becauſe to do the King faithful Service he had diſpleaſed ſome of his unworthy *Minors*: the Relation of which, I ſhall ſet down in *Walſinghams* own Words. *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, and ſeveral other Lords, being lately dead, certain greedy and ambitious Knights and Squires, and others of inferior Rank, that were Servants to the King, had begg'd of him Grants of divers Lands and Lordſhips, lately belonging to the deceaſed, that they might have the profits thereof, for ſo long time as the King by the Cuſtome of the *Realm*, was to hold them in his Hands; which the King, not minding the value, nor conſidering any reaſon they had to deſire, or merit to deſerve, ſuch Revenues, preſently conſents to, ordering them to the Chancellor to have their Grants confirm'd under the great Seal; but the prudent and honeſt Chancellor, who zealouſly deſired the proſperity of the Kingdom, and juſt profit of the King, abſolutely refus'd to do it; telling them, the King was much in Debt, and 'twas moſt neceſſary he ſhould reſerve ſuch Contingencies to himſelf, therewith in part to ſatisfy his Creditors; and that ſince they well knew ſuch the Kings urgent occaſions, they could be no good Subjects to his Majeſty, that conſulting their own advantages more than his ſervice, and preferring private lucre before publick neceſſities, ſhould go about to circumvent, and further impoveriſh him, by ſuch prejudicial Requeſts, from which they ſhould do well to deſiſt, and be content with his Majeſties former Largeſſes, which were ſufficient for them.

Nettled with this repulſe, theſe Courtiers reſort back to the King, grieviouſly complaining of the

Chancellor's Obſtinacy, that he contemned his Majeſties Command, and that it concerned his Majeſty ſuddenly, and with due ſeverity, to Chaſtize ſuch an affronted diſobedience; for otherwiſe the Royal Authority would become contemptible to all his People, and his Command be accounted of no value, *&c.* The young King therefore more regarding the falſe ſuggeſtions of theſe ſelf-deſigning flatterers, than the faithful allegations and advice of his Chancellor, ſends in his fury meſſengers to demand the Seal of him, but the Chancellor would deliver it to no hands but the Kings. To whom having ſurrendred it, he was pleaſed to retain it for many daies in his own Cuſtody, Sealing Grants therewith himſelf, *&c.* Till at length the keeping of it was conferr'd on *Braibrook* Biſhop of *London.*

To this laſt mentioned *Parliament*, *John Wickliff* exhibited a certain Complaint, or *Articles*, chiefly againſt the Abuſes of *Monks*, *Fryars*, *&c.* An Abſtract of the ſubſtance whereof is as follows.

1. Article, *That all Perſons of what Kind, Order, Sect, or ſingular Religion ſoever, made or inſtituted by men, may freely without any let or puniſhment, leave the ſame at their pleaſure, and are only bound ſtably to hold the Rule of Jeſus Chriſt, taken and given by him and his Apoſtles, and far more profitable than ſuch new Religions founded by ſinful men.*

2. Art. *That thoſe things which men have unreaſonably and wrongfully condemned; As*, That the King cannot take away the Goods of Prelates, Monks, *&c.* misbehaving themſelves, or the like; *may be vindicated and aſſerted, and the contrary*

Errors

Errour condemning them Expoſed: For that nothing ought to be condemned, unleſs it ſavour of Errour or unrighteouſneſs againſt Gods Law.

3. Art. *That both Tythes and Offerings be given, paid, and received, with and to the ſame intent only, as by Gods Law they ought; that is, that what is more than ſufficient to ſerve the Prieſts,* &c. *with Neceſſaries, be given to the Poor: And that if they be abuſed to luxury or covetouſneſs, then they may lawfully be taken away.*

4. Art. *That Chriſts Doctrine, and the Belief touching the Sacrament plainly delivered by him and his Apoſtles, be openly taught in Churches, and the contrary Teaching and falſe Belief, brought up by curſed Hypocrites and worldly Prieſts, exploded.*

Wickliff's preferring theſe Articles (which he at large Confirm'd both by *Authorities* and *Reaſon*) ſtirred up freſh hatred againſt him in the *Eccleſiaſticks*, and procured him much trouble.

Wherefore becauſe *all Papiſts* ſo furiouſly condemn him to this day as a *wicked Heretick*, and we juſtly own him as one of the firſt and moſt eminent *Authors* of the Reformation in Doctrine, by his painful Writing and Preaching, his Tenets being generally the ſame * with thoſe profeſſed at this day by the *Proteſtant Churches*, bating ſome few *Errours* intermixt, which are as *leſs material*, ſo likewiſe more excuſable, conſidering the *Ignorance* and *Blindneſs* of the Age he lived in. And ſince his Story,

* *See* Dr. James *of* Oxford, *his Apology for* Wickcliff, *ſhewing his Conformity with the now Church of* England, *Printed* Anno 1608.

is one of the *Remarkables* of this King *Richard*'s Reign, it will not be impertinent briefly to relate the ſame.

Wickliff is ſaid to be deſcended of an *ancient Family* in the *North*, but the exact year of his Birth we do not find Recorded; he was Educated in *Merton Colledge* in *Oxford*, became firſt *Divinity Reader* in that Famous Univerſity, and afterwards *Rector* of *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*: Touching his Parts, his Contemporary *Henry de Knyghton*, Canon of *Leiceſter*, (and by conſequence none of his Friends) does yet give this Honourable Character, *That he was the moſt eminent Doctor of Divinity of thoſe times, ſecond to none in Philoſophy, incomparable for School-learning, and tranſcending moſt both in ſubtilty of Science, and profoundneſs of Wit.* Theſe great Abilities enabled him quickly to diſcover the *Falſity* of the Doctrines, and the *Cheat* of the Practiſes then in vogue in the Church: For in his Studies, he had run through the whole Courſe of the *School-men*; and amongſt them was a profeſſed Follower of *Occham*, by reading whoſe Works, and others that lived about the ſame time, or not long before, ſuch as *Bradwardine*, *Marſilius*, *Gulielmus de Sancto Amore*, *Abelardus*, *Armachanus*, and the Learned *Groſthead* Biſhop of *Lincoln*: God gave him Grace to ſee the Truth of his Goſpel, and by ſeeing it, to *loath* Superſtition and Popery. By *Occham* and *Marſilius* he was informed of the Popes Intruſions and Uſurpations upon Kings, their Crowns and Dignities. Of *Gul. de S. Amore* and *Armachanus*, he learned the ſundry Abuſes of the *Monks* and *Fryars* in upholding this Uſurped Power. By *Abelard* and others,

thers, he got a Proſpect of the *Right Faith* touching the *Sacrament* of the *Lords Supper*. By *Bradwardine* he was inſtructed in the nature of a true *Sole juſtifying Faith*, againſt *Merit-mongers*, and *Pardoners*, *Pelagians*, *&c.* Finally by peruſing *Groſthead*'s Works (in which he ſeemed to be moſt Converſant) he deſcryed the *Pope* to be *Antichriſt*, by hindring the Preaching of the Goſpel, and placing unfit men in the Church, only to ſupport his own *Tyanny*. And being thus enlightned, his Zeal to Truth would not ſuffer him to Conceal his Candle under a Buſhel: And therefore thoſe that aſſign'd his being depriv'd of a *Benefice* in *Oxford*, to be the occaſion of firſt ſpreading his Opinions, and would attribute all to *Reſentment* and *Revenge*, ſpeak either *raſhly* or *maliciouſly*, no ſuch provocation being ſo much as mentioned by Authors of beſt Credit, to occaſion his preaching againſt the Corruptions of the Times; nor is it likely that he would have ſo inveighed againſt *Clergy-covetouſneſs and Pride*, if they could have retorted on him any ſuch cauſe of his Diſcontent; or how can we but imagine, that if he had affected any ſuch ſmall Buſineſs as the *Headſhip* of *Canterbury Colledge*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* (who was his Great *Patron*) could have helpt him to it. For indeed the Fame of his Learning, his unwearied diligence in Preaching and Writing, together with his pious exemplary *Life*, procured him many *Diſciples* amongſt the People, and ſeveral Favourers of the firſt Rank: The rather, for that he juſtly oppoſed the Ambition and Avarice of the Clergy, a *Theme* no leſs gratefull than neceſſary; For the Temporal States-men already

found it to be an insufferable Grievance, though they wanted Skill or Courage to abate it. King *Edward* the Third (though a great *Doter* on Ecclesiasticks) is supposed not to have been his Enemy; and 'tis certain the pious Duke of *Lancaster*, (so our Author *Knyghton* always calls him) and several of the Nobles were much his Friends, and Protectors against the Rage of the Prelates; for *Wickliff* being in King *Edward*'s days Cited to Answer before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, and others in *Pauls*, the said Duke, and Sir *Henry Piercy* Lord Marshal, were pleased to attend him thither, and would needs have him *sit* in presence of the Court, alleaging he had much to answer, and therefore needed convenient ease; which favour the Bishop of *London* refusing to grant, hard words arose between the Temporal and Spiritual Lords; insomuch that the Duke threatned he would *pull down the pride of all the Bishops of* England: And by reason of their Contest, *Wickliff* for the present got off, and little was done against him.

But in the beginning of King *Richards* Reign, the Pope sent a *Bull* to the University of *Oxford*, upbraiding them with suffering and countenancing *Wickliff* and his Doctrine, and charging them on pain of being deprived of all their *Priviledges* and *Indulgences*, that they should no longer tolerate the same. But the *Heads* of the University were so well satisfied with *Wickliffe*'s Integrity, that they were at a stand whether they should receive the said *Bull*, or reject it with Contempt: However the Pope plyed both the King and the Archbishop, and Bishop of *London*, with several

ral other Letters and Bulls to the ſame effect; So that at laſt, *Wickliff* was again Conven'd before them; but on the Day aſſign'd for his Examination, Sir *Lewis Clifford* came into their Court, and in the Name of the *Princeſs Joan*, the Kings Mother, peremptorily Commanded them to proceed no further in that Affair; with which being terrified, they deſiſted their proſecution, and once more he got out of their Clutches.

But now by reaſon of the before-mentioned Articles offered to the King and Parliament, the Biſhops ſoon after ſummoned him again before them, but whether he appeared or not, is uncertain: However they proceeded againſt the Opinions and Concluſions following, as *His*, which as they are related by the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times, I ſhall Recite; ſome of them being Branded as *Hereſies*, others only as *Errors*; Viz.

Hereſie I.

That the Subſtance of Bread or Wine remains after Conſecration in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Hereſie II.

That Accidents do not remain without a Subject after Conſecration in the ſame Sacrament.

Hereſie III.

That Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the Altar Identically, truly and really in his proper Corporal Perſon.

Hereſie IV.

That if a Biſhop or Prieſt whileſt he is in mortal ſin, ſhould Ordain, Conſecrate, or Baptize, it would be nothing available.

[Note, *this is falſly charged*, Wickliffe's *words whence this is wreſted, are in his Book*, De Veritate Scripturarum, p. 138. Niſi Chriſtianus, &c. *Unleſs the Chriſtian Prieſt be united unto Chriſt by Grace, Chriſt cannot be his Saviour, neither can he ſpeak the Sacramental words without lying*; Licent proſint capacibus, *though yet they are profitable to fit Receivers*. Which laſt Clauſe they ſpitefully omit.]

Hereſie V.

That if a Man be duly Contrite, all outward Confeſſion is ſuperfluous and to him unprofitable.

Hereſie VI.

That he hath Obſtinately aſſerted, that it is not founded in the Goſpel, that Chriſt ordained the Maſs.

Hereſie VII.

That God ought to obey the Devil.

[*This Poſition the Devil himſelf would ſcarce dare to utter, much leſs this godly man, who on the quite contrary in his Comment on the* Pſalms p. 112. *ſaith*, the Devil is clepid God's Angel: for he may do nothing but at Gods ſuffering, and ſerveth God in tormenting ſinful men. *'Tis true in his Book againſt* the Fryars, Cap. 28. *he complains of their* Blaſphemy, *in accuſing the Holy Scriptures of* Falſhood, *which, ſaies he, is to* put falſneſs upon God himſelf, *who is the Author thereof, and yet they would have us beleive what they themſelves ſay is true. Alas* (*ſaith he*) who may ſuffer this Blaſphemy, that Chriſt in whom

whom is all Treaſure of Witt, Wiſdome, and Truth, could not, or would not ſay true Words, and ſentence, but yet ſinful fools have true manner of Speaking, contrary to the ſpeech of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, for if this be, ſinful fools, yea Divels of Hell, been wiſer and truer than Jeſu Chriſt. *From theſe words, or ſome ſuch Argument* ab Abſurdo, *againſt them, that which he proves to be their wicked* Conſequence, *they make his* Doctrine, *juſt as if one ſhould charge* David *with aſſerting*, there is no God, *leaving out*, The Fool hath ſaid in his Heart.

Hereſie VIII.

That if the *Pope* be a Wicked Man, and conſequently a member of the *Devil*, then he has no power given him over faithful Chriſtians by any, unleſs perhaps by *Caſar*.

Hereſie IX.

That after *Urban* the Sixth, [*Pope at that time*] none ought to be choſen *Pope*, but we ought to live after the manner of the Greeks, under our own Laws.

Errors.

* 1. That no Prelate ought to Excommunicate any, unleſs firſt he know ſuch perſon to be Excommunicated of God.

[* *That is only for offences againſt God's Law.*]

2. That if any ſhall otherwiſe Excommunicate, he thereby becomes an Heretick, or Excommunicated perſon himſelf.

3. That a Prelate Excommunicating a Clerk that has appeal'd to the King and Council of the Kingdom, is thereby a Traytor to God, the King, and Kingdom.

4. That

4. That thoſe who forbear to Preach, or hear the Word of God, or the Goſpel, for the Excommunication of men, are Excommunicated, and at the day of Judgement ſhall be accounted Traytors to God.

*5. That 'tis contrary to the Scriptures, that perſons Eccleſiaſtical ſhould have Temporal poſſeſſions.

* [*This is wreſted to a worſe ſenſe than* Wickliff *intended.*]

6. That 'tis lawful to any Deacon, or Presbyter, to Preach the Word of God, without Authority from the *Pope*, or any Catholick Biſhop.

*7. That none, whilſt in mortal ſin, is to be accounted a Biſhop or Prelate.

* [*This is the ſame Calumny with the Fourth Hereſie.*]

8. That Temporal Lords may at their pleaſure take away Temporal Goods from the Church habitualy offending.

9. That Tythes are pure Alms, and Pariſhioners may for the ſins of their Curates detain the ſame, and confer them at their pleaſure upon others.

10. That ſpecial prayers applyed by Prelates or Religious perſons to one particular perſon, do not more profit him, than general prayers, all things elſe being equal.

11. That any one entring into any Private Religion, is thereby rendred more unapt, and incapable of obſerving the Commandements of God.

12. That Holy Men, that inſtituted Private Orders of Religion, whether of *Mendicants*, or ſuch as are indow'd with poſſeſſions, did ſin in ſo doing.

13. That thoſe called Religious, living in private

vate Orders of Religion, are not of the Chriſtian Religion.

14. That *Fryars Mendicant*, are bound to live by the Labour of their Hands and not to get ther living by Begging.

15. That *Fryars* Begging after their Sermons, do thereby incurr the Crime of Simony, and all that beſtow Alms on them are Excommunicate, as well the giver as receiver.

About theſe Poſitions the Biſhops firſt met at *Oxford*, (where they had taken ſuch impreſſion, that *Riggs* the Vice-Chancellor, and many others had imbraced them) and after that at the *Gray-Fryars London*, on the Seventeenth of *May*, 1382. on which day after dinner, about Two a Clock, juſt as they were going to proceed in this Buſineſs, happened a Wonderful and Terrible *Earthquake* throughout all *England*; whereupon divers of the Suffragans being affrighted, would have diſiſted, but the Archbiſhop otherwiſe interpreting the Omen, they went on, and at laſt ſolemnly Condemned all the ſaid Propoſitions, there being preſent Eight *Biſhops*, Nineteen *Monks* and *Fryars*, Fourteen *Doctors* of Law, and Six *Batchellors* of Divinity.

However Mr. *Wickliff* himſelf (whether becauſe they could not find him: or that they were affraid to meddle with him) or rather becauſe they were much diſtracted by reaſon of the Feuds between two *Popes* then in being at once, eſcaped their malice; and in the Year 1385. dyed peaceably in his Bed, haveing been Doctor of Divinity above Thirty Years, and of ſuch induſtry and learning, that he Tranſlated the whole Bible into *Engliſh*;

gliſh; one Copy whereof written with his own Hand, lately was, and I ſuppoſe ſtill is extant in Saint *John's Colledge* in *Oxford*: He lived in a time, when the *Fryars* Orders by their manifold diſorders were become exceeding odious, and the *Popes* juriſdiction by proviſions, Reſervations, and Collations very intollerable, which made way for thoſe excellent ſtatute Laws about this time enacted, of *Premunire*, againſt *Proviſors*, and the abuſes of *Begging Fryars*; which ſo bridled and reſtrained the *Popes Rampant* Uſurpations, that he could but little prevail here in *England*, during the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, and King *Richard* the Second: Towards making of which Laws, *Wickliff*'s Doctrine ſtruck a great ſtroak, he maintaining very learnedly and ſtoutly, the Kings juriſdiction, Crown, and Dignity, againſt *Papal* and all kind of Encroachments, by the Laws, *Civil*, *Canon*, and *Common*, of which laſt eſpecially he made great uſe, and was well skill'd therein. But for full ſatisfaction concerning this famous Man, I ſhall here add, the Teſtimonial of the Univerſity given in his behalf, after his Death, as follows, *viz.*

TO all and ſingular the Children of our holy Mother the Church, to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, the Vice Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, with the whole Congregation of the Maſters, wiſh perpetual health in the Lord: Foraſmuch as it is not commonly ſeen, that the Acts and Monuments of valiant men, nor the praiſe and merits of good men, ſhould be paſs'd over and hidden with perpetual ſilence, but that true report and fame ſhould continually ſpread abroad the ſame in ſtrange and far diſtant places; both in Teſtimony there-

of,

of, and for the example of others. Foraſmuch alſo as the provident diſcretion of Mans nature hath deviſed this defence againſt ſlander, that when ever Witneſſes by Word of Mouth cannot be preſent, the Pen by Writing may ſupply the ſame.

Therefore the ſpecial good will and care which wee bare unto John Wickliff, *ſometime Child of this our Univerſity, and Profeſſor of Divinity, moving and exciting our minds (as his manners and conditions required no leſs) with one Mind, Voice, and Teſtimony, we do witneſs all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life, to have been moſt ſincere and commendable; whoſe honeſt manners, good diſpoſition, profoundneſs of learning, and moſt redolent fame, we deſire the more earneſtly to be notified to, and celebrated by all the faithful, for that we underſtand, the maturity and ripeneſs of his Converſation, his diligent Labours and Travels tend much to the Praiſe of God, the help and ſafeguard of others, and the profit of truth.*

Wherefore we ſignify unto you by theſe preſents, that his Converſation (even from his youth upwards, unto the time of his death) was ſo praiſe-worthy and honeſt, that never at any time was there any note or ſpot of ſuſpicion noiſed of him, but in his anſwering, reading, preaching, and determining, he behaved himſelf laudably, and as a ſtout Champion of the Faith, vanquiſhing by the force of the Scriptures, all ſuch who by their wilfull Beggary, Blaſphemed and ſlandered Chriſt's Religion: neither was this ſaid Doctor Convict of any Hereſie, or burned by our Prelates [Note his Bones were not yet, but long after ordered to be taken up and burnt by the Council of *Conſtance*] *after his Burial: for God-forbid that our Prelates ſhould have condemned a man of ſuch honeſty for an Heritick,*

who

who amongſt all the reſt of the Univerſity had Written in Logick, Philoſophy, Divinity, Morality, *and the Speculative Art beyond comparison, the knowledge of all which things we deſire to teſtify, that the fame and renown of this ſaid Doctor may be more evident, and had in repute amongſt thoſe into whoſe hands theſe preſent Letters Teſtimonial ſhall come.*

In Witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters Teſtimonial, to be Sealed with our Common Seal, dated at *Oxford*, in our Congregation Houſe, the Fifteenth of *October*, in the Year of our Lord, 1406.

About the ſame time, ſeveral of *Wickliff*'s followers, as *Nicholas* of *Hartford*, *John Aſton*, *John Purney*, and other Prieſts, were much troubled for the ſame and the like Opinions; among the reſt our Author *Henry de Knyghton*, tells us, that on *Palm* Sunday, he heard one at *Leiceſter* Preaching theſe horrible Hereſies and Errors (in his Opinion) following, *viz.*

That to Blabber with the Lipps, and multiply Words in Prayer ſignified nothing.

That to give Money for Celebrating of Maſſes would not avail any body, unleſs he led a good Life.

That Chriſt never Commanded any Body to Begg.

That no Man is bound to give Almes to any that has better Cloathes and outward accomodations than himſelf.

That none is truely a Prelate, nor capable of a Biſhoprick, unleſs he be a Teacher and Preacher.

That

That Money got by Confeſſions is accurſed, and as well the giver as receiver Excommunicate.

That Preachers carrying about Baggs and Scripps, are falſe Teachers, ſince Chriſt in his Goſpel Commands the contrary, and the true Diſciples of Chriſt never practiſed it.

That for thoſe to Begg, who are able to work is Condemned by the Law Civil, and no where approved by the Law Evangelical.

That Chriſt Converted many of divers States and Conditions to the Faith; but we doe not find in the Holy Scripture that ever he converted a Prieſt.

Theſe Opinions ſpreading ſo faſt, and the Biſhops perceiving that yet they had not ſufficient Authority by any Law, or Statute of this *Realm*, to proceed unto Death or Impriſonment, againſt any for matters of Religion, they therefore ſolicited the King for the power of the Temporal Sword, who overcome with their importunity, or perhaps incited by hopes of ſome Subſidy to be given him by the *Clergy* was content to give his Aſſent to an Ordinance, bearing the name of an Act, made in the Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, *Anno Quint.* R. 2. Ca. 5. in theſe Words.

ITem, forasmuch as it is openly known, that there be divers evil Perſons within the Realm, going from County to County, and from Town to Town, in certain habits under diſſimulation of great Holineſs; and without the Licenſe of the Ordinaries of the places, or other ſufficient Authority,

Authority, Preaching daily, not only in Churches and Church yards, but also in Markets Fairs, and open Places, where a great Congregation of People is, divers Sermons containing Heresies, and notorious Errors, to the great emblemishing of Christian faith, and Destruction of the Laws, and of the Estate of Holy Church, to the great peril of the Souls of the people, and of all the Realm of England, as more plainly is found, and sufficiently proved before the reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops, and other Prelates, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of the Canon, and of Civil Law, and a great part of the Clergy of the said Realm, specially assembled for this great cause; which Persons do also Preach divers matters of slaunder, to ingender, discord, and dissention betwixt divers Estates of the said Realm, as well Spiritual as Temporal, in exciting of the People to the great Peril of all the Realm, which Preachers cited or summoned before the Ordinaries of the places, there to answer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey their Summons and Commands, nor care not for their Monitions, nor Censures of the Holy Church, but expressly despise them. And moreover

moreover by their Subtle and Ingenious Words, do draw the People to hear their Sermons, and do maintain them in their errors by strong hand, and by great routs. It is ordained and assented in this present Parliament, That the Kings Commissions be made, and directed to the Sheriffs, and other Ministers of our Soveraign Lord the King, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the Certifications of the Prelates thereof, to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to Arrest all such Preachers, and also their fautors, maintainers and abetters, and to hold them in Arrest, and strong Prison, till they will justifie to them according to the Law and reason of Holy Church. And the King willeth and Commandeth that the Chancellor make such Commissions at all times, that he by the Prelates, or any of them shall be Certified, and thereof required as is aforesaid.

This was the first pretence of Statute against the true Professors of Religion, and indeed was no Act of Parliament duly made, but only by the King and the Clergy, for at *Michaelm.* following, in the Sixth Year of the King, a Parliament being assembled complain'd thereof, and having re-

cited the ſame —Add— **The which was never agreed nor granted by the Commons, but whatſoever was moved therein, was without their Aſſent, and therefore Prayen the Commons, that the ſaid Statute be diſanulled, for it is not in any wiſe their meaning, that either themſelves or ſuch as ſhall ſucceed them, ſhall be further juſtyfied, or bound by the Prelates, then were their Auncеſtors in former times: whereunto it is anſwered,** Ill Plaiſt aa Roy, **the King is pleaſed.**

Yet though the ſuppoſed Law of the Fifth were hereby ſo repealed, and the fraud thereof diſcovered, the Prelates ordered matters ſo, that this Act of Repeal was never Publiſhed, nor ſince Printed in the Statute-book with the reſt of the Acts of that Parliament, as Mr. *Fox* in his Acts and Monuments well obſerves.

The Year 1383, was famous for a Warlike *Expedition* under-taken by the *Engliſh Clergy*, called a *Croiſado*, or going forth to fight the *Lords Battels*, (as they pretended) under the Banner of the *Croſs*; the occaſion thus:

After the death of *Pope Gregory* the Eleventh, which happened in the Year of our Lord 1378, one *Bartholomew*, Biſhop of *Barri* in *Apulia*, by the undue Acts hereafter mentioned got into the Chair, by the name of *Urban* the Sixth; who as he entred by force, ſo he proceeded with ſo much pride and Inſolence, that moſt of the *Cardinals* for-

ſook

ſook him, and retiring to *Avignion* in *France*, choſe one *Robert*, Biſhop of *Cibbo*, in his ſtead, who took upon him the ſtile of *Pope Clement*. Now to deſtroy him, and all that own'd, and took part with him, was the meritorious deſign; and that the Reader may the better perceive the Nature of the Quarrel, and what mighty reaſon People had to venture their Lives, and Murder their Neighbours, for this *Urbans* Intereſt, I ſhall inſert a Copy of the Cardinals Letter to him, as *Walſingham* recites it.

THe *Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, by Divine Merit Cardinals, during the vacancy of the Apoſtolical See, to* Bartholomew, *late Archbiſhop of* Barri, *wiſh* the Spirit of ſounder Counſel. *The ſanctity and purity of the Catholick Faith, and the wholſom devotion of Chriſtian People, the clear profeſſion of the whole Eccleſiaſtick State, and Salvation of all the faithfull, do require, That thoſe things which may occaſion a* Scandal *unto our faith, the ſubverſion of the Worſhippers of Chriſt, the weakening of the State of the Church, and the evident* danger of Souls, *ſhould be openly notified to all, declared amongſt the People, and according to the Doctrine of the Goſpel,* Preached upon the Houſe-tops, *leſt by indiſcreet* ſilence *thoſe be left in Error, who might be reclaimed, and they to whoſe Office it belongs ſhould lie under that reprehenſion of the Prophet, ſaying,* Thy Prophets and Preachers ſhall prophecy unto thee, things falſe and fooliſh, and ſhall not lay open thine iniquity, that they might provoke thee to pennance. *Whereas therefore the* Apoſtolick Seat *being* empty, *by the death of* Pope Gregory XI, *of pious memory, who in* March laſt *departed this Life; we for the* Election *of another*

Pope, *according to Law and Custom, had assembled our selves in the* Conclave, *for that purpose assign'd, in the Apostolical Palace, the People of Rome gathered together by the sound of a* Bell, *and in* hostil *manner, surrounding the place, almost filling the Palace both without and within, did with vehement Terror* threaten, *that unless without any delay, we chose a* Roman, *or* Italian, *they would presently* cut us into bits: *And so there being no due space afforded, wherein we might deliberate of a* fit Person; *they against our will and intention,* suddenly *and* abruptly *by violence and* bodily fear, *compelling us to chuse an* Italian, *We thereupon meerly to avoid the otherwise inevitable* Peril *of Death, as at the same time we openly* declared *amongst our selves, did think fit to nominate* thee *for* Pope, *not doubting but thou (to whom as well as to all the* Clergy, *and* People, *that accursed* violence *was well known) hadst had so much* Conscience, *as in no sort to accept of the same. But thou forgetful of thine own* Salvation, *laying aside all pure Conscience, and being otherwise* ambitious, *wast so far inflamed with the ardor of Worldly Honour, upon the presentation of that* Election (*though extorted also by fear, and against the Canonical Sanctions, from those who carried it from us into the City*) *that thou to the greatest* Scandal *of the Christian* Clergy, *and* People, *and to the pernitious* Example *of others in such cases, didst consent to the said* Election, *though the same in Law were absolutely* null and void, *and also out of fear, (as we well hope) didst suffer thy self to be inthron'd in the City, and* Crown'd *de facto, and so hast taken upon thee the* Name of Pope, *who by the holy and wise Fathers, and by Right, and Law, art rather and deservedly to be called,* An accursed Apostate, Antichrist, and the Invader, and

Destroyer

Deſtroyer of all Chriſtianity. *Since therefore ſuch thy wicked intruſion into the Papacy is now divulged throughout the World, grown notorious, and cannot any longer be* hid, *as being done juſt before* Eaſter, *when from all parts of Chriſtendom there were multitudes of People at* Rome; *and whereas many* Errors *have already began to creep abroad, and the Conſciences of the faithful to be intangled; and that thou being long expected, and charitably admoniſhed in ſecret, regardeſt not to* amend thy folly, *but rather doſt deſire to draw the whole* Clergy *and* People *into a precipice, and preferring the empty tranſitory Glory of the World, before the Salvation of thine own, and other Chriſtians Souls, obſtinately endeavoureſt to hold the* Popedom by Tyranny, into which thou didſt not enter by the door; *We therefore not being able with ſafe Conſciences any longer to diſſemble the Premiſſes, laying forth the ſame, and giving notice thereof to thee, and all faithful Chriſtians, though the ſame be already notorious to thy ſelf, and almoſt all the* Clergy & People, *do publiſh and* denounce thee accurſed, *and (as having intruded into the Papacy without any Canonical Election)* an Invader of all Chriſtianity, *ſince thou dreadeſt not to Invade the very* Head *of Chriſtianity it ſelf, and ſuch a* Deſtroyer, *as ſeekeſt by thy tyrannical uſurpation, to cauſe almoſt all the* Sacraments *to fail, and the univerſal People of Chriſt to run aſtray on Precipices, as wanting a* true Shepherd; *Exhorting nevertheleſs, and intreating by the* Bowels of Mercy, of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *whoſe Spouſe the Church, thou haſt not bluſh't to Commit a* Rape *upon; that thou wouldeſt think of the end, to which fulneſs of daies is haſtening thee; that thou wouldeſt direct the Eyes of thy mind to God, and a pure Conſcience; and that thou wouldeſt*

quit, *and leave empty and* free, *that moſt* Holy Seat *of S.* Peter, *which* without Title *thou doſt* Occupy; *and that thou wouldſt lay aſide the Papal* Enſignes *and* Ornaments, *and without delay abſtain from the Adminiſtration of any the* Spirituals, *or* Temporals, *of the Papacy, and Roman Church, and ſtudy to ſatisfy God, and the Church, to thy utmoſt power, by the fruits of true* Repentance: *Which if thou ſhalt perform, thou mayeſt deſerve to obtain the Grace of God, and the applauſes of the World, and the praiſes of the* Clergy, *and* People, *and a Remiſſion of thoſe* Sharp Penalties, *by the Canon Laws inflicted, and to be withal diligence* inflicted *upon thee. But otherwiſe, art ſure deſervedly to Incurr the* Indignation *of Almighty God, and* of *S.* Peter, *and* Paul, *and all other Saints; and we will Invoke Divine, and Humane Counſel, with the Spouſe of Chriſt, and of all Chriſtians, whoſe Mother without doubt is in this behalf violated, and ſhall uſe all other remedies granted by the Canonical ſanctions hitherto, that before thou haſt ſo* reſigned, *thou mayeſt have no hope of* Mercy.

But *Urbanus*, (whom ſome that were fond of a Quibble, were wont to call *Turbanus*, becauſe he was the diſturber of Chriſtendom) would neither be wheadled, nor hector'd out of the *Popedom*, and therefore he gets together the Biſhops that ſtill took his part, and makes divers of them *Cardinals*, who ſoon returned a *thundering anſwer*, to this Epiſtile of the ſchiſmatical Cardinals and Biſhops (for ſo they called them that diſown'd *Urban*;) which (to ſhew the meek ſpirits of the men, and how notably they argue) I ſhall preſume ſo farr on the Readers Patience, as here likewiſe to inſert.

We

VVE *the univerſal Faithful of Chriſt, honour'd with this* ſacred Character, *founded ſo upon the firm Rock of truth, that the Lord upholding, and watering the root of our Holy Faith, by no* whirlwinds *of Heretical, or Schiſmatical perſuaſion, we can be extirpated, or overthrown*; to John *Biſhop of* Præneſt, William, *with the Title of S.* Stephen, *in the* Celian Mount, *&c. not (as you call your ſelves)* Cardinals *by Divine Mercy of the Holy Roman Church, but accurſed, and moſt ravenous* Wolves, *invaders of the whole Flock of Chriſt, and moſt ſubtle* Foxes, *deſiring to lay waſte the Vineyard of the Lord of Hoſts, ſend not* Greeting, *but* Grief, *not* Joy *but* Sorrow, *and that you may be* Cloathed with Confuſion, as with a Garment. *The inſipid Tenour of your* Letters, *which by the* Devils inſtigation *you raſhly have ſent throughout all the Provinces of Chriſtendom, hath* wounded our Hearts, *and all that is within us, not by ſtartling our Faith, but with a* godly compaſſion *for ſo horrid a* Scandal *as lately is raiſed in the holy Church of God*; *but* wo unto you by whom theſe Scandals come: *For the* Face *of our* Mother the Church *is made* pale, *pale with unſpeakable* trouble, *for the Errour of your wickedneſs, (the like not heard of for many Ages) who would be eſteem'd zealous of the Laws, when in truth you are* Sacrilegious, *though ſoon ſhe is rendred* Ruddy *again with modeſt* Bluſhes, *ſeeing by your ill deeds all the Borders of Chriſtianity to be inflamed. O deteſtable and unhappy Ambition of yours! which endeavours to rend our Lord's* ſeamleſs Coat, *and part that which ſuffers no* Diviſion, *but rather rejoyceth in* Unity. *Wicked Servants, out of your* own Mouths you ſhall be judged, *by your*

Letters, you have declared the manner of the Election of the Pope by you lately celebrated, alledging that an unruly multitude *of armed people beſet the Conclave, terribly and mortally threatning you, unleſs you ſhould chuſe an* Italian *or* Roman, *but not* limiting any certain perſon *whom they would force you to Elect.*

'Tis therefore manifeſt, as to the Perſon, *that you do grant he was* freely, *and not by* compulſion *choſen, and ſo we firmly do and will hold, that the Election by you then made, was* rightfully and canonically *Celebrated; and to him ſo elected,* Inthron'd, *and* Crown'd, *as Head of the* Holy Church, Peter's Succeſſor, *and* Vicar of Chriſt on Earth, *we do faithfully adhere, and promiſe humbly to obey his Admonitions, Words, and Acts, as becomes true and faithful* Catholicks; *not taking a damnable Example from your pernicious Rebellion, and Sacrilegious and Heretical ſtubbornneſs.*

And furthermore we deteſt your Folly, and baſeneſs of your Pretence; for how ſhould Fear *invade you, who are placed in the* Fore-front *of the* Churches Troops, *as* Champions *and* Defenders *of the* Orthodox Faith, *and wearing on your Heads the* Red Caps, *Enſigns of* Eccleſiaſtical Liberty, *for a* Token *that you ought undauntedly to ſtrive for* Righteouſneſs *and* Juſtice *even to the* Death. *Now I ſay, could the* dread of Death *make you depart from* Righteouſneſs? *or how were you that call your ſelves* Pillars of the Church, *become ſo weak and feeble, as not to be able to uphold the* Building *from tumbling on your Heads? Was there any* Sampſon *there? No, alas, he died long ſince: But to excuſe your ſelves in your ſins, you will perhaps ſay, That*

Peter

Peter *the* Rock *of* Faith, *and after Chriſt the* Prime Foundation *of the* Church, *was ſo affrighted at the words of a poor* Servant-maid, *as to* deny *Chriſt himſelf, and that too with an Oath, of whoſe Infirmity you are Partakers and Followers; O ye Generation of Vipers, ye crafty Serpents nouriſhed with poyſon, if ye taſt the* bitter herb, *taſt alſo that which is* ſweet *and* wholſom; *and after this damnable* denial *of the* Head, *return with* Peter *to* Confeſſion: *We truly build upon the* Rock, *whileſt your abominable obſtinacy makes you* Conſorts *of a* Traytor, *whoſe* Iniquity *relies on* Lead, Sands, *and* Rubbiſh. *Nor let your* fooliſh blindneſs *and* blind fooliſhneſs *imagine, that thoſe words in your* Letters *which ſeem to carry a ſhew of* Piety and Zeal for the Houſe of God, *ſhall move us and perſwade us in any thing to conſent with you; for we moſt evidently perceive, that thoſe words are full of the* Leaven of the Phariſees, *of which Chriſt in the Goſpel admoniſhes his Diſciples to beware. And by your* [*leaving* Rome, *and*] *naming* another place *for perpetating your* wicked Deſigns, *you clearly ſhew us, that you have left the* true Head of the Church, *and are become* Members of the Devil, *and gone out into the Deſart with* Judas *the* Traytor, *where fitly with an* Halter you may be ready to hang your ſelves; *that that of the Prophet may be verified of you,*— Let their Habitation be deſolate, and let none be left to dwell in their Tents. *As alſo it is written further of each of you,* —Let his days be few, and his Biſhoprick let another take. *Furthermore, you do but blacken the clear flame of the* Count *of* Fundi [*a Town in* Italy, *whoſe Earl harbour'd the* Cardinals] *when you ſo load him with your Commendations throughout* Chri-

Chriſtendom; *ſince as the Poet ſaith*, Idem eſt laudari à Turpibus, & ob Turpia; To be prais'd by bad men, is all one as to be prais'd for bad things. *Conſider therefore O* Count! *that whereas heretofore thou waſt* unknown *in divers Chriſtian Countries, which thou thoughtſt an unhappineſs, now thou haſt gain'd not a* Name *but* Shame *throughout the World, for inviting to thy ſelf the* Enemies of Chriſt, *the Breakers of the* Churches Unity, *and the Diſturbers of the* Peace *and* Tranquility *of all* Chriſtendom, *and cheriſhing their deteſtable perfidiouſneſs, ſo that thou ſeemeſt to have built an* Aſylum *againſt Chriſt and all Catholick people: Ariſe therefore O* Count! *throw theſe* Mice *out of thy Budget, chace theſe* Serpents *from thy Tabernacle, and ſhake theſe* Coals of Brimſtone *out of thy Boſom, leſt they bring thee to* everlaſting Burnings; *ſo ſhalt thou obtain the* Grace of God, *the* Bleſſings of all Chriſtians, *and the* Commendation of all the World, *and ſhalt merit to eſcape the* Divine Vengeance.

Dated at Rome, *&c.*

Both Parties being thus *hot*, and *Chriſtendom* divided between two Popes at once, each damning the other for a *Schiſmatick* and *Villain*; *France*, *Flanders*, *Scotland*, and ſeveral other Countries joyn'd with Pope *Clement*. Inſomuch that the French King proclaim'd throughout all his Realm, That none ſhould *own* or *obey Urban* on pain of being *Beheaded*, and all his Goods forfeited to the Kings uſe: But by means of *Urban*'s Complemental Letters to King *Richard* and the Parliament, and his honouring our Biſhop of *London* with a *Cardinals Cap*, *England* was altogether at

at his Devotion; for in the Second year of King *Richard*, an Act was made, Declaring him to be lawful Pope, and that the Livings of all Cardinals and others that were Rebels to him, ſhould be ſeized into the Kings hands, and the King to be anſwered of the Profits thereof; and that whoſoever within this Realm ſhould procure or obtain any Proviſion or other Inſtrument from any other Pope than the ſame *Urban*, ſhould be out of the Kings Protection.

And this year 1382, the ſaid *Urban* ſent over his Bull to *Henry Spencer* Biſhop of *Norwich*, (a young bold Prelate) to raiſe a *Croiſado*; that is, to levy Forces, who ſhould be all markt with the Croſs, as ingag'd in an Holy War, to fight with and ſubdue his Enemy, the ſaid *Clement*, the Anti-Pope, and all his Followers and Favourers, whom thereby he did Excommunicate and Depoſe from all Honours, and forbid any Converſation with them living, and burial of their Bodies when dead, *&c.* In which Bull were (amongſt other things) granted the Powers and Priviledges following.

1. That the ſaid Biſhop of *Norwich* may uſe the Sword againſt the Anti-Pope and all his Adherents, Favourers, and Councellors, and with violence put them to death.

2. That he hath full Power to inquire of all and ſingular ſuch *Schiſmaticks*, and to put them in Priſon, and to confiſcate all their Goods moveable and immoveable.

3. That he hath Power and Authority to deprive all Lay-men that are ſuch *Schiſmaticks*, of all manner of Secular Offices whatſoever, and to give

give their Offices to other fit and convenient Perſons.

4. To deprive all ſuch Schiſmatick Clerks, and beſtow their Benefices either with or without Cure, their Dignities, Parſonages or Offices to other Perſons more meet for the ſame, having power over Lay-perſons that are exempt, Clerks, both Secular and Regular, yea though they be Fryars Mendicants.

5. That he may diſpenſe with any Dignified or Beneficed Clerks, ſo that they may be abſent from their Cures or Benefices, under the Standard of the Croſs, without leave of any of their Prelates, and yet take and receive the entire Profits, as though perſonally reſident.

6. There is granted to all that paſs the Seas in this Cauſe, either at their own Expences, or at the Expences of any others, **Full Remiſſion of all their Sins,** and beſides as large Priviledges as to any that pay their Money, or go to fight for the Holy Land.

7. That all ſuch as ſhall with their proper Goods and Subſtance give ſufficient Stipend to able Souldiers at the diſcretion of the aforeſaid Biſhop muſtered, or by any other his Deputy, although themſelves be not perſonally engaged, yet ſhall they have the like Remiſſion and Indulgence, as they which in perſon go the Expedition.

8. That all they ſhall be Partakers of this Remiſſion, who ſhall give any part of their Goods to the ſaid Biſhop, to fight againſt the ſaid Schiſmaticks.

9. That if any ſhall chance to die in the Journey, or be kill'd, that are Souldiers under the ſaid Standard

Standard of the Croſs, they ſhall fully and wholly receive the ſaid Grace, and ſhall be Partakers of the aforeſaid Forgiveneſs and Indulgence.

10. The ſaid Biſhop hath power to Excommunicate, Suſpend, and Interdict all perſons whatſoever that ſhall be Rebellious, or Diſturbers of him in the execution of the Powers and Authority hereby committed unto him, of whatſoever Dignity or Condition they be, whether Kings, Queens, Emperors, or of any other Quality Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal.

Laſtly, That he may compel and inforce any Religious Perſons whatſoever, to go in this Expedition, and ſend them over Sea, if he think good ſo to do, and this although they be Profeſſors of the Fryars Mendicants.

Being thus furniſht, the Biſhop to ſpread his Authority, and the more effectually carry on the Work, publiſht the Ordinances following.

1. *IT is Ordained for the Honour, the Eſtabliſhment of Holy Church, and the Salvation of the Realm, that ſufficient Preachers be ſent into all the Country, to Declare and Publiſh the* Croiſado, *and the Right Eſtate of Holy Church, and of our moſt Holy Father Pope* Urban, *whom God (of his benign Grace) pity and redreſs, according to his good pleaſure.*

2. *That to every ſuch Preacher or Confeſſor throughout* England, *there ſhall be joyned a Clerk*

a Clerk, who ſhall receive and Regiſter the Names of all ſuch as ſhall offer their perſons to this Holy War; and alſo all Money that ſhall be given, over whom the ſaid Confeſſors ſhall be Controllers.

3. *That no Woman ſhall preſume to go this Voyage without ſpecial Licenſe from the Biſhop of* Norwich *under his Seal.*

4. *That no man by the way ſhall rob, or by any kind of Extortion take the Goods of any till they come upon the Enemies where they may do it by Right of War, on pain of loſing all ſhare in the ſaid Pardon.*

5. *That the ſaid Preachers ſhall preſs the People to ſay Prayers, and make Proceſſions for the ſafety of the Church, and the proſperity of this Voyage.*

6. *That all Curates on pain of Excommunication ſhall encourage, and by all means they can (eſpecially in Confeſſion) preſs and engage their Pariſhioners, as well poor as rich, to come into and contribute to this pious Expedition, ſo much for the good of the Church, and advantage of their own Souls.*

7. *That every one that will go in perſon for the Abſolution, ſhall before ſuch Abſolution be given him, ſwear to come to the ſaid Biſhop or his Deputy, and make his Indentures touching the time that he purpoſes to ſerve in the* Croiſado. 8. *That*

8. *That if any will find a man; that is, hire another to go in his Name, and upon his coſts and charges, then he muſt either provide an able ſufficient Souldier that ſhall not refuſe the Service, or elſe allow ſo much for his Pay to the Biſhop, and let him provide one himſelf.*

9. *That every one that ſends ſuch a Souldier in his own ſtead, ſhall Enroll in the Biſhops Regiſtry both his own and his Souldiers Name before he takes Abſolution, otherwiſe to loſe all benefit of the Pardon.*

The form of the Abſolution to be given to all that ſhould Serve in or Contribute to this Croiſado.

By Apoſtolical Authority to me in this behalf committed, We do Abſolve thee from all thy ſins confeſſed with thy mouth, and for which thou art contrite in heart, and of which thou wouldſt be confeſs'd, if they did occur to thy memory; and do grant unto thee full forgiveneſs of all thy ſins, and the Retribution of the Juſt, and we do promiſe thee an Increaſe of Eternal Life: And we do alſo grant to thee as many Priviledges as are granted to thoſe that go to the Aid of the Holy Land; and furthermore we do impart

impart to thee the Suffrages and Advantages of the Prayers and good Works of the whole Catholick Church.

The Buſineſs being thus Publiſhed with all the *Zeal* and *Art* of the Clergy, the Biſhop thereupon collected an innumerable and incredible Sum of Money, beſides abundance of Plate, both Gold and Silver, *Jewels*, *Rings*, *Diſhes*, *Spoons*, *Bracelets*, [They are all our Authors own words, who lived at that time] *Necklaces*, *and other Ornaments*, *eſpecially of Ladies and others of the Female Sex:* For 'twas ſaid, one Lady gave an *hundred pounds*, and ſo others, ſome more, ſome leſs, and many even beyond their ability, as was believed, ſo fond were they to obtain the *imaginary benefit* of *Abſolution* for themſelves or their Friends: [For by this they might not only *ſave their own Souls*, but free whom they pleas'd that were *dead* from the pains of Purgatory, or *inſure the Salvation* of any *Child* or *Relation living:*] And ſo all the ſecret *Treaſure of the Kingdom* that was in the Cuſtody of theſe fooliſh *weaker Veſſels* was indanger'd; for otherwiſe they were not to be abſolv'd if they did not contribute to their *power* and *ability*. Many men went in perſon at their own charge, others that were *old* or *weak* or *timerous*, ſent Souldiers and bore their *Expences:* For the Biſhop had got moſt admirable Indulgences both for the *Quick* and *Dead*, and could Abſolve *& à pœnâ & à culpâ*, as well from the *guilt*, or *offence*, as from all *puniſhment due for ſin:* and 'twas ſaid, that ſome of his *Commiſſioners* did aſ-

ſert,

ſert, *That at their commands Angels would deſcend from Heaven, and ſnatch Souls from out of the pains of Purgatory, and without delay carry them to rights into Heaven.*

Whileſt the *warlike Biſhop* was making theſe *Preparations*, comes a *Parliament*, where it was Debated, whether it were *ſafe* to hazard ſo conſiderable a ſtrength of the Kingdom, in ſuch an impertinent Quarrel, and under the Conduct of a raſh *unexperienc'd Prieſt*; Thoſe that were for it, beſides the *Intereſt of Religion* urg'd *Reaſon of State, That now was the time for the King to recover his Right in* France, *and weaken the French King, when he lay under Pope* Urban's *Curſe, for ſiding with Pope* Clement, *during which he could expect no Succeſs on his Arms.* Thus for ſome time very doubtfull it was which way the *Parliament* would incline; but at laſt upon hearing that *Antiphone* ſung, —*Ecce Crucem Domini, fugite partes adverſæ*, —*Behold the Croſs of our Lord, fly ye Adverſaries*, they were as with a *Charm* brought over to Decree in favour of the *Expedition*, aſſigning the *Fifteenth* given in the laſt *Parliament*, to be imployed herein. And now the Project went on more vigorouſly than ever, inſomuch ſaith *Walſingham, That in all this ſpacious Kingdom there was ſcarce one perſon to be found, that did not either offer his perſon, or beſtow part of his Goods for promoting the ſame.* About the middle of *May*, the Biſhop was ready to put to Sea with his Army, and lying in *Kent* waiting for a Wind, the King (whether deſigning quite to forbid the Voyage, or thinking the Biſhop had got too much Money, and willing to ſhare with him, or for what other reaſon I

know not) ſent him a *Writ* to come back and ſpeak with his Majeſty and know his pleaſure; but the *proud Prelate* miſtruſting the worſe, was ſo intent upon the Affair of his Lord and Maſter the *Pope*, that he had no leiſure to obey his *King*, and therefore to avoid any ſtops, preſently haſtened over to *Calice*, leaving his Army to follow him, which being arriv'd, he ſet up the Standard of the *Croſs*, and beſieges *Graveling*, and takes it and ſeveral other places, uſing great Cruelties, and deſtroying all they could maſter: For as the Epiſcopal General was a perſon raſh and daring, and inflam'd with mad Zeal, ſo his Souldiers confiding in their *Abſolutions*, adventur'd upon the greateſt dangers without fear, eſteeming ſays *Walſingham*, it *Glory* to overcome, but *Gain* to die in this Cauſe, where they thought themſelves ſure to go directly to Heaven, and to enjoy ſo much the greater Bliſs the more they butcher'd of the *Schiſmaticks*: But theſe firſt Fervours were quickly cool'd by hard Service, and having in vain laid Siege to *Ypres*, they are at laſt forc'd to quit it, being all in Confuſion amongſt themſelves, and in great want of Proviſions; whence they come back to *Graveling*, and therein are beſieg'd by the *French King* with a powerful Army; In which Diſtreſs our Biſhop wrote to King *Richard*, That if ever he intended to try his Fortune againſt the *French King*, now was the time, or at leaſt that he ſhould ſend ſome Forces to give him Battel, and force him to abandon the Siege: King *Richard* was then at *Daintry* in *Northamptonſhire*, and on the receipt of this News being at Supper, inſtantly aroſe from Table, and in mighty rage and fury

took

took Horſe, riding Poſt with ſuch ſpeed, that he came to Saint *Albans* at Midnight, where having borrowed the Abbots Guelding (which *Walſingham* a Monk of that Abbey complains he never reſtor'd) he haſten'd to *Weſtminſter*, making ſhew as if he would never reſt till he had Routed the *French King* and all his Hoſt, but being ſomewhat weary with Riding, at *Weſtminſter* he went to Bed, and having *taken counſel of his Pillow*, was nothing ſo fierce next Morning, but reſolv'd to lay aſide the thoughts of going himſelf, and to ſend ſome body elſe: To which purpoſe, the Duke of *Lancaſter* was nominated, but ſo tedious in making Preparations, that the Biſhop in the mean time was glad to leave *Graveling*, having firſt diſmantled and deſtroyed it, and ſo return'd home to *England*, after a vaſt Treaſure diſſipated, and many thouſand Lives loſt, and more Souls cheated, with as *little Glory*, as he ſet forth with *mighty Expectation*, the *Succeſs* of his *Arms* being ſuitable to the *ridiculous occaſion* of them. And what was yet worſe for the haughty Prelate, ſoon after his coming home in a *Parliament* held at *London*, about *Alhallontide*, all his *Temporalities* were Seized into the Kings hands, for his Contempt in diſobeying the Kings *Writ*, when His Majeſty ſent to him to come back juſt as he was putting to Sea on this piece of *Eccleſiaſtical Knight-Erratry*, and he refuſed to come as aforeſaid.

In this Parliament alſo was granted to the King half a *Fifteenth* by the *Laity*, and half a *Tenth* by the *Clergy*.

In the Year 1384 a *Truce* was made with *France*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* and his Bro-

ther *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* entred *Scotland* with a mighty Army, but the *Scots* wholly declining to fight, and many of the *Engliſh* being deſtroyed with Want and cold Weather, they return'd, making very ſmall Advantages by that expenſive Expedition.

Soon after which, an *Iriſh Carmelite Fryar* made a diſcovery in Writing to the King of a Deſign the Duke of *Lancaſter* had to deſtroy His Majeſty and uſurp the Crown; but the King adviſing about the ſame only with certain young Favourites, the Duke obtained notice of the Charge, and cleared, or ſeemed to clear himſelf ſo much to the Kings ſatisfaction, that the poor *Fryar* was committed to Cuſtody; and 'tis ſaid, on the Evening before the *Hearing* ſhould have been, was moſt cruelly *murdered*. Whoſe Information, if *real*, ſhews what an Opportunity the King ſlipt of preventing his after misfortune, and that ſometimes it proves even more dangerous to *diſcover Treaſons*, than to *act them*, which yet ſhould diſcourage no good Subject from the diſcharge of his Duty. But poſſibly this whole Accuſation, or the Relation of ſuch a thing might be a *Contrivance* of the Duke's Enemies, to render him ſuſpected to the King and odious to the People; For 'tis certain they entred not many Months after into a *formal Deſign* againſt his Life: The occaſion whereof I do not find mentioned by Authors, but only that the King by the Inſtigation of his young *Cabal-Council* had conceiv'd diſpleaſure againſt him; and that they had conſpired to take away the ſaid Duke's Life. In order whereunto certain *Crimes* were ſuggeſted, *Appellors* prepared, and

'twas

'twas agreed that he ſhould be ſuddenly Arreſted, and brought before the *Lord Chief Juſtice Tryſilian*, who had boldly undertaken to pronounce Sentence upon him, according to the quality of the matters to be objected (though by Law he could not be tryed but by his *Peers*) and ſo *Execution* ſhould immediately have followed. But the Duke being fore-warn'd of theſe Contrivances, haſtned to his Caſtle of *Pomfret*, and there ſtood upon his Guard: And the King's Mother conſidering the Dangers that would enſue ſuch a *Rupture*, took great pains by riding (notwithſtanding her age and corpulency) to and fro between the King and him, to pacifie each ſide, and at laſt brought them to ſuch a *Reconcilement*, that all appearance of *Diſpleaſure* on the one part, and *Diſtruſt* on the other, was for that time removed.

About the Feaſt of S. *Martin* was held a *Parliament* at *London*, wherein the Earl of *Northumberland* was Condemn'd for the loſs of the Caſtle of *Barwick* Surprized by the *Scots*, through the Treachery of one that he had put in there as his Deputy: But the King after Judgment was pleaſed to *pardon* him, who went forthwith down and retook the ſaid Caſtle.

In the Year 1385 the *French* made great Preparations for the *Invading* of *England*, and to facilitate the Attempt by a *Diverſion*, ſend the Admiral of *France* with a conſiderable *Force* into *Scotland*, the common *Back-door* at which they were wont to Infeſt us: Of which King *Richard* having notice, raiſes a mighty Army, and by ſpeedy Marches pierces into the Heart of *Scotland*, and reduc'd their chief City *Edenburgh* into Aſhes

as a *Bonfire*, to give the whole Kingdom notice of his Arrival, and Challenge them to Battel: But they declined it, and Victuals growing very ſcarce, the King thought fit to return homewards, the rather for that the *Scots* in the mean time had entred *Northumberland*, and beſieg'd *Carlile*; but hearing of the Kings approach, fled back into *Scotland*.

During this Expedition, the Lord *John Holland* the Kings Brother by the Mother-ſide, near *York*, kill'd the eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Stafford*, for which he fled, and the King was ſo highly incenſed, that he cauſed all his *Goods* to be Confiſcated; the *King's Mother* interceded for him, but could not be heard, and reſented the denial ſo heavily, that ſoon after ſhe *died*.

At a *Parliament* the latter end of this Year, the *Laity* granted the King one *Fifteenth and an half*, upon condition that the Clergy would give a *Tenth and an half*, who took this *Articulating* of the *Commons* in grievous dudgeon, proteſting, that the *Laity* ſhould not *Charge them*; and the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* was *ſo hot*, as to declare, he would rather venture his Head in this *Cauſe*, than that the *Holy Church of England* ſhould thus Truckle: Whereupon the *Commons* and many of the *Temporal Lords* began to bid Battel to the *Clergies Temporalities*, ſaying, they were grown to that exceſs of *Pride*, that it would be a *Work* of *Piety* and *Charity*, to clip their *Wings*, and reduce them to an *Humility* ſuitable to their *Profeſſion*. The *Clergy* at this were not a little *Alarm'd*, and to prevent the worſt, make a voluntary offer of a *Tenth* to the King, and ſo the Diſpute is rockt to ſleep.

Alſo

Alſo during this *Parliament*, the King Conferred ſeveral *Honours*, Creating his Uncle *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, (who before was Earl of *Buckingham*) Duke of *Glouceſter*, and his other Uncle *Edmund* of *Langley* (before Earl of *Cambridge*) Duke of *York*: With whom too he prefer'd his pernicious Favourites, as *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, to be *Marqueſs* of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, (the firſt man within this Realm that was Enobled with that Title;) and Sir *Michael de la Pole* (the Son of a Merchant in *London*) was made Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*. But theſe laſt grew in Hatred faſter than they did in Honour; the *Ancient Nobility* diſdainfully reſenting their undeſerved (as they deemed) Advancement. Nor were the people better ſatisfied, but grumbled heavily, for they durſt not ſpeak out againſt theſe *Court-Ear-wiggs*, as Seducers of the King, and occaſion of all miſadminiſtrations of Affairs.

In this *Parliament* likewiſe, the Duke of *Lancaſter* deſired *Leave* of the *King*, *Lords and Commons*, to go into *Spain* to recover that Kingdom belonging to him in the Right of his Wife; which was granted, and Forty thouſand Marks promiſed him for his aid therein; and accordingly on *Eaſter-Day* he came to take his *Leave* of their *Majeſties*: The King commanding that he ſhould be ſtyled *King of Spain*, preſented him with a *Crown of Gold*, as the Queen did another to her Siſter: A great number of the *Youthful Nobility* and *Gentry* attended the *Duke* in this *Voyage*, who having Matcht one of his Daughters to the King of *Portugal*, with joynt Forces Invaded *Caſtile*, and

took many ſtrong Towns; but at laſt on a Treaty it was agreed, that the King of *Spains Eldeſt Son* ſhould marry *Katherine* another of the *Dukes Daughters*, and the *Duke* receive *Two hundred thouſand Nobles* in hand, and the Sum of *Ten thouſand Marks* yearly, during the *Lives* of him and his *Dutcheſs*; and in conſideration thereof all *Claims* ſhould ceaſe. *Walſingham* tells us the *Duke* had ſuch *Favour* from the *Pope*, as to be *Arm'd* for the *Recovery* of this *Kingdom*, with a Grant of *Remiſſion of Sins*, to all that ſhould adventure with him, or aid him with Money towards the Voyage: and had got as large *Indulgences* as the *Biſhop* of *Norwich* lately had as aforeſaid; but he well obſerves, *That the frequency of granting ſuch Pardons and Relaxations, had now rendred them vile and contemptible to the People*, ſo that there was ſcarce any body regarded them, or would give *Two pence* to this laſt *Croiſado*, though they were ſo extravagantly fond of the *former*; whence is taught this Leſſon, *That a Cheat though never ſo religious, is not to be plaid over twice in one Age.*

The Year 1386 fill'd *England* with great *Conſternations* and frequent *Alarms*, by means of an *Invaſion* threatned by the *French*, who had prepared above *Twelve hundred Sail of Ships*, and a *mighty Army* on that Deſign, which lay hovering on the Coaſts, daily waiting an opportunity to paſs the Channel; and the better to ſecure their men at their firſt Landing in *England*, they had fram'd a *wonderfull Wall of Wood*, three Miles in length, of great thickneſs, and twenty Foot high, with which they would have incloſed their Camp. But it happened, that the Lord *Beauchamp* Captain

tain of *Calice*, took three of their Ships laden with part of the ſaid Incloſure, which King *Richard* cauſed to be ſet up about *Winchelſea*, for ſecuring that Town; and alſo he took another Ship full of Guns, Gunpowder, and other Inſtruments of War: With which Loſſes, and eſpecially by the adverſneſs of the Winds, which from the beginning of *Auguſt* to *Alhallontide*, ſtood full in their Teeth, ſo that their Ships could not come out; and their *Victuals* and *Proviſions*, by lying all that time, being ſpent, they were diſcouraged from proſecuting the Enterprize, and nothing was effected.

And now King *Richard* every day more and more entring upon the *Confines* of his *Deſtiny*, as if he had not done enough in making his *Minion* Marqueſs of *Dublin*, Creates him Duke of *Ireland*, and would (ſays *Walſingham*) had Fortune favour'd his *Wiſhes*, have gone on to make him a *King*; ſo ſtrangely was he bewitch'd to him, and ſo exceſſively he doted on him; *Non ſine nota (ut fertur) familiaritatis obſcœnæ*, which I forbear to engliſh out of Reſpect to *Royal Majeſty*, as being willing to think it a *fulſom Imagination* of that *Monk* that writes it, rather than charge an *Engliſh Prince* with ſuch a *deteſtable ſuſpicion*: But this *undeſerved Honour*, together with the *Exorbitancies* of *Michael de Pole*, and other *Publick Miſcarriages* had made no ſmall *Impreſſions* on the *Minds* of many of the *Peers* of the Land, as well as the *Commons*.

On *Monday* the morrow after the Feaſt of S. *Jerom*, the *King* held a *Parliament* at *Weſtminſter*, which ended on the Feaſt of S. *Andrew*; the Proceedings

ceedings whereof *Henry Knyghton* (who lived at that very time) Relates as follows:

'[P. 2680.] The King (ſaith he) for the moſt 'part ſtaid lingering at *Eltham* whileſt the Parlia- 'ment ſate; the Nobles therefore of the Realm, 'and the Commons with joynt Aſſent, ſent this 'Meſſage to the King; *That the Chancellour and* 'Treaſurer *ought to be removed from their Offices,* 'becauſe they were not for the good of the King and 'Kingdom, and becauſe alſo they had ſuch matters 'to treat of with* Michael de Pole, *as could not be* 'treated of whileſt he remain'd in the Office of Chan- 'cellor. The King hereat incenſed, return'd his 'Command, *That they ſhould mention no more thoſe* 'things, but that they ſhould proceed to the Buſineſs 'of* Parliament, *and haſten to a concluſion*; adding, 'That he would not for them, or at their inſtance, re- 'move the meaneſt Scullion-Boy in his Kitchin out of 'his place. For the Chancellor in the Name of the 'King, had deſired of the *Commons* Four Fifteenths 'to be paid in one year, and as many Tenths from 'the *Clergy*; alledging, that the King was ſo 'much in debt, that he could not otherwiſe be 'freed from his Debts and other Burdens lying 'upon him, as well upon the account of War, as 'of his Houſhold and other Charges; But they 'by joynt Aſſent of *Lords* and *Commons*, returned 'this Anſwer to the King; *That they neither could,* 'nor by any means would proceed in any Buſineſs of 'Parliament, nor diſpatch ſo much as the leaſt Article, 'till the King ſhould come and ſhew himſelf in his own 'Perſon amongſt them, and remove the ſaid* Michael 'de Pole *from his Office.* Upon which the King 'ſent back this Command to them, *That they*

'ſhould

'ſhould order *Forty Knights of the moſt ſubſtantial* 'and wiſeſt of the Commons to come unto him, and 'declare the Votes of all the reſt. But then were 'they more afraid, every man for his own ſafety: 'For a ſecret Rumour had privately come to their 'Ears, That the death of theſe Forty was deſign'd 'by Treachery. For it was ſaid, *as appeared after-* 'wards unto them, That as theſe ſhould be going 'to ſpeak with the King, a multitude of Armed 'Men ſhould *ſet upon and murther them:* Or that 'being invited to a Feaſt by the King, ſome Ar- 'med Ruffians ſhould ruſh in upon them and kill 'them, or that they ſhould be murther'd in an in- 'ſtant in their *Lodgings* in *London*. But *Nicholas* 'de Exon Mayor of that City refuſing, and by no 'means conſenting to ſo great a *wickedneſs*, the 'Villany was deferr'd, and the curſed Contri- 'vance by degrees brought to light. Making uſe 'therefore of wholſom Advice, they by common 'conſent of the whole *Parliament*, ſent the Lord '*Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, and '*Thomas de Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*, to the King at '*Eltham*, That they ſhould on the behalf of the 'Lords and Commons of his *Parliament*, Salute 'him, and deliver their Votes or deſires to him, 'under ſuch a Form or Senſe of Words.

'Sir King! *The Prelates, Lords, and whole Peo-* 'ple of the Commons in Parliament, with moſt humble 'ſubmiſſion recommend themſelves to the moſt Ex- 'cellent [the Word is wanting in 'our Author] *of your Royal Dignity, wiſhing you* 'a ſucceſsful Courſe of Honour, and invincible a- 'gainſt the power of your Enemies, and the moſt firm

'Band

'Band of Peace and hearty Love towards your 'Subjects, as well for the increaſe of your own good 'and advantage, in reſpect of God and the Salvation 'of your Soul, as for the unſpeakable comfort of all 'the People which you govern. On whoſe behalf we 'intimate theſe things unto you.

'That we have it [Settled, Granted, or Con-'firmed] by ancient Conſtitution, by a Cuſtom lau-'dable and approved, and which none can gain-ſay or 'contradict, That the King can Aſſemble the Lords, 'Nobles, and Commons of the Kingdom once a year 'unto his Parliament, as the higheſt Court of the 'Realm, in which all Equity ought to ſhine bright 'without any ſcruple or ſpot, clear as the Sun when 'aſcending to the Meridian; where as well Poor as 'Rich may find a never-failing Shelter for their Re-'freſhment, by reſtoring Tranquility and Peace, and 'removing all kind of Injuries, where publick Grie-'vances or Errors are to be redreſs'd; where, with the 'moſt prudent Council, the State and Government of 'the Kingdom is to be treated of: That the King and 'Nations Foes within, and their Enemies abroad, may 'be diſcovered, and repulſed by ſuch means as moſt 'conveniently and honourably it may be done; and 'alſo with wholſom deliberation therein to fore ſee and 'order how the neceſſary Burdens of the King and 'Kingdom may with moſt eaſe (the publick Want 'conſidered) be ſupplied: And they conceive alſo, that 'ſince they are to ſupport publick Charges incumbent, 'they ſhould have the Superviſal too how and by whom 'their Goods and Fortunes are expended. They ſay 'moreover, that this is their Priviledge by ancient 'Conſtitution, that if the King wilfully eſtrange him-'ſelf from his Parliament, no Infirmity or neceſſary

'Cauſe

'*Cauſe diſabling him, but obſtinately by his ungovern-*
'*able Will, ſhall withdraw himſelf, and be abſent*
'*from them the time of Forty days, as not regarding*
'*the vexation of his People, nor their grievous Ex-*
'*pences; That then from that time it ſhall be or is*
'*lawfull for all and every of them, without any da-*
'*mage from the King, to go home, and every one re-*
'*turn into his own Country. And* now, *You for a*
'*longer time have abſented* Your Self, *and for what*
'*Cauſe they know not, have refus'd to come amongſt*
'*them.*

To this, *the King.*

'NOw do We plainly diſcover, that our
'People and the Commons intend to
'reſiſt, and are endeavouring to make In-
'ſurrections againſt us; and in ſuch caſe
'nothing ſeems better to us, than to [call
'in] our Kinſman the King of *France*, and
'from him to ask Advice and Aid; nay
'even to ſubmit Our Self to him, rather
'than to Truckle to our own Subjects.

To which they anſwered thus:

'*THis Counſel is not ſafe for You, but rather*
'*tends to inevitable deſtruction; For the King*
'*of* France *is your Capital Enemy, and the much*
'*greateſt Adverſary to your Kingdom, and if he*
'*ſhould*

'ſhould once get footing on your Land, would ſooner 'endeavour to diſpoil you of it, to invade your King-'dom, and to drive you from your Throne, than 'in the leaſt to lend you his aſſiſting hand, if at any 'time (which God forbid) you ſhould ſtand in need 'thereof: Rather therefore recall to your Memory 'how your Grandfather King Edward the Third, 'and in like manner your Father, a Prince of the 'ſame Name and Renown, with Sweat and Hazards 'during their whole Lives, through innumerable La-'bours indefatigably contended for the Conqueſt of the 'Kingdom of France, which by hereditary Right ap-'pertained to them, and after them to you by Succeſ-'ſion. Remember how many of the Nobles, what 'innumerable Troops of the Commons of England, as 'well as thoſe of France loſt their Lives, and under-'went the peril of death in that Quarrel: Remem-'ber the ineſtimable Treaſures the People of England 'freely parted with for the maintenance of that War.

'And yet what is more to be lamented, they have 'in your time ſuſtained ſo many Taxes for the ſupport 'of your Wars, as that now they are reduced to ſuch 'incredible Poverty, that they can neither pay their 'Rents for their Livings, nor aſſiſt their King, nor 'afford themſelves even the Neceſſaries of Life. Thus 'the Royal Power is impoveriſhed, and an unhappy 'condition brought upon all the Great Men and Nobles 'of the Kingdom, as well as the Commons weakened and 'undone; For a King cannot be poor that has a rich 'People, nor that King be rich whoſe Subjects are 'poor. Nor do theſe Ills redound alone to the King, but 'to all the Nobility and Great Men, every one in his 'Rank and Degree. And all this is brought to paſs by 'the evil Miniſters of the King, who have ill-governed

'both

'*both* King *and* Kingdom *to this day*; *and unleſs we* '*do quickly ſet our helping hands to the Work, and raiſe* '*the healing Prop, the Kingdom of* England, *will in* '*leſs time than we think of, be miſerably ſubverted.*

'But there is yet one part more of our 'Meſſage remaining on the behalf of your 'People to be imparted to you, **That** we 'have an ancient Conſtitution, and it was 'not many Ages ſince experimented; it 'grieves us that we muſt mention it, That 'if the King through any evil Council 'whatever, or through a weak Obſtinacy 'or Contempt of his People, a perverſe fro-'ward Will or irregular Courſe, ſhall alie-'nate himſelf from his People, and refuſe to 'Govern by the Laws and Statutes of the 'Realm, by the laudable Ordinances and 'and faithful Advice, If he ſhall throw him-'ſelf headlong into wild Deſigns, and ſtub-'bornly exerciſe his own ſingular Arbitra-'ry Will; That from that time it ſhall be 'lawful for his People by their full and 'free Aſſent and Conſent, to Depoſe that 'King from his Throne, and to eſtabliſh 'ſome other of the Royal Stock upon the 'ſame in his ſtead. Which grievous and 'unhappy Diſſention, That it may never 'ſpring up amongſt your People; That 'your People by no ſuch lamentable Divi-'ſions (pleaſing only to your Enemies) may 'ever through your evil Counſellors be ſub-

vered.

'verted. That this Kingdom ſo honoura-
'ble, and above all the Nations in the
'World, from your Fathers days hitherto,
'moſt famous in War, may not now in
'your time (through the Diſtractions of
'ill Government) be miſerably laid waſte:
'That the Title and Inſcription of theſe
'Miſeries may never be placed as a ſcanda-
'lous Mark upon your Reign and this un-
'happy Age. Recal we beſeech you, your
'Royal Mind from ſuch fooliſh and perni-
'cious Councels; and whoſoever they are
'that ſuggeſt ſuch matters to you, do not
'only not hearken to them, but totally re-
'move them from you: For in a time of
'danger it will be found, that they can no
'ways effectually ſerve you, *&c.*

By theſe and ſuch kind of Speeches, the King laying aſide his Anger, was reduced to a better Temper, and being pacified, promiſed, That after Three Days he would come to the *Parliament*, and with *Mature Advice* willingly Acquieſce to their *Petitions*. The *King* then came as he had promiſed, and *John de Fortham* Biſhop of *Durham* was removed from the Office of *Treaſurer*, and the Biſhop of *Hereford* made *Treaſurer*: The Lord *Michael de Pole* Earl of *Suffolk* was with *much diſgrace* turn'd out of the *Office* of *Chancellor*, and *Thomas de Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely* by Conſent of *Parliament* put in his ſtead.

And ſometime afterward the ſaid *Michael de Pole* was Impeached of ſeveral *High Crimes* and *Miſdemeanors* by the *Commons*, as follows. *The*

The Impeachment or Articles made by the Commons *in full* Parliament *againſt* Michael de Pole *Earl of* Suffolk, *late Chancellor of* England, *in the Term of* S. Michael *in the Tenth Year of the King, and the* Judgment *upon them, following from Point to Point.*

'IMprimis, That the ſaid Earl being '*Chancellor*, and *Sworn* to Act for the 'juſt Profit of the *King*, hath *Purchaſed* of 'our Lord the King, Lands, Tenements, 'and Rents to a great Value, as appears 'by the Record-Rolls of the *Chancery*: And 'againſt his Oath, not regarding the great 'Neceſſity of the *King* and *Realm*, being '*Chancellor* at the time of ſuch *Purchaſe* 'made, did cauſe the ſaid Lands and Te-'nements to be Extended at a much *ſmaller* '*value* than really they were worth by the 'year, and thereby *deceiv'd* the King.

'*And for that he purchaſed the ſaid Lands* '*when he was* Chancellor, *againſt his* 'Oath, *the* King ſhall have the ſaid 'Lands again intirely, *and the ſaid*

'*Earl ſhall make* Fine and Ranſom *to* 'the *King*, *with all Profits received ſince* 'the *Purchaſe*.

2. '*Item*, Whereas Nine Lords were Aſ-'ſigned by the laſt Parliament, to View 'and Examine the Eſtate of the King and 'Realm, and to deliver their Advice how 'the ſame might be Improved, Amended, 'and put into better Order and Gover-'ance, and thereupon ſuch Examination 'to be delivered to the King as well by 'Word of Mouth, as in Writing: The 'ſaid late Chancellor did ſay in full Parlia-'ment, That the ſaid Advice and Ordi-'nance ſhould be put in due Execution; 'which yet was not done, and that by 'the default of him who was the princi-'pal Officer.

'*To this Article and the Third, and the* 'Seventh, *the ſaid Earl ſhall anſwer, if* 'he *have any thing to ſay againſt the* 'ſame *in ſpecial*.

3. '*Item*, Whereas a Tax was granted 'by the Commons in the laſt Parliament, 'to be laid out in a certain Form demanded 'by the *Commons*, and aſſented to by the '*King* and *Lords*, and not otherwiſe; yet 'the Moneys thence ariſing, were expen-

'ded

'ded in another manner: ſo that the Sea 'was not Guarded as it was ordered to 'have been; whence many Miſchiefs al-'ready have happen'd, and more are like 'to inſue to the Realm; and all this by the 'default of the ſaid late Chancellor.

4. 'Item, Whereas the *Tydeman* of *Lim-'bergh*, having to him and his Heirs of the 'Gift of the Kings Grandfather Fifty 'pounds *per annum*, out of the Cuſtoms of '*Kingſtone* upon *Hull*, which the ſaid *Tyde-'man* forfeited to the King; and alſo the 'payment of the ſaid Fifty pounds *per an-'num*, was diſcontinued for Five and thir-'ty years and upwards: The ſaid Chan-'cellor knowing the Premiſſes purchaſed 'to him and his Heirs of the ſaid *Tydeman*, 'the ſaid Fifty pounds *per annum*, and pre-'vailed with the King to confirm the ſaid 'Purchaſe, whereas the King ought to 'have had the whole Profit.

'*For this Purchaſe the ſaid Earl was ad-'judged to Fine and Ranſom, and the ſaid 'Fifty pounds to go to the King and his 'Heirs, with the Mannor of* Flaxflete, '*and Ten Marks of Rent which were ex-'chang'd*, &c. *with the Iſſues*, &c.

5. 'Whereas the high Master of S. *Antony* is a *Schismatick*, and for that Cause 'the King ought to have the Profits which 'appertain to him in *England*; the said late 'Chancellor who ought to advance and 'procure the Profit of the King, took to 'Farm the said Profits of the King at 'Twenty Marks *per annum*, and so got to 'his own use above a Thousand Marks. 'And afterwards when the said Master in '*England* which now is. ought to have had 'the Possession and Livery of the said Pro-'fits, he could not obtain the same, till he 'and two persons with him became bound 'by Recognizance in Chancery, of Three 'thousand pounds, to pay yearly to 'the said Chancellor, and his Son *John*, 'One hundred pounds for the tearm of 'their two Lives.

'*For which it is adjudged, That the King* '*shall have all the Profits belonging to* '*the said S.* Anthony's, *at the time of* '*the Purchase; and that for the Recog-* '*nizance so made, the said Earl shall be* '*Awarded to Prison, and Fined, and* '*Ransom'd at the pleasure of the King.*

6. '*Item*, That in the time of the late '*Chancellor* there were granted and made 'divers Charters and Patents of Pardon

'for

for Murders Treaſons, Felonies, *&c.* a-
'gainſt the Laws; and before the Com-
'mencement of this preſent *Parliament*,
'there was made and ſealed a Charter of
'certain Franchiſes granted to the Caſtle
'of *Dover* in Diſinheriſon of the Crown,
'and to the ſubverſion of the Pleas and
'Courts of the King, and of his Laws.

'*The King Awards that thoſe Charters*
'*be Repealed.*

7 'Whereas by an Ordinance made in the
'laſt *Parliament*, that Ten thouſand Marks
'ſhould be raiſed for the Relief of the City
'of *Gaunt*, by the default of the ſaid late
'Chancellor, the ſaid City of *Gaunt* was
'loſt, and alſo a Thouſand Marks of the
'ſaid Money.

'*Upon all which Articles the Commons de-*
"*mand the Judgment of Parliament.*

WW *Alſingham* tells us, That all theſe *Articles* were ſo fully *proved*, that *de Pole* could not deny them, inſomuch that when he ſtood upon his Anſwer, and had nothing to ſay for himſelf, the King Bluſhing for him, ſhook his Head, and ſaid, *Alas! alas* Michael, *ſee what thou haſt done*: And when the King deſired a Supply, the Commons anſwered, *That he did not need the Tallage of his Subjects, who might ſo eaſily furniſh himſelf of ſo great a Sum of Money, from him who was his juſt*

Debtor But at laſt, upon his Majeſties yielding to have him turn'd out of the *Chancellorſhip*, and admitting the *Articles*, (which he was very unwilling to ſuffer) they freely gave him *half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth*; only providing, that it might be neceſſarily Expended: To which purpoſe it was to be depoſited in the hands of the Earl of *Arundel*, who was then going to Sea with a Fleet, to ſecure the Coaſts.

They likewiſe gave the *King* on every Pipe of Wine Imported or Exported Three ſhillings; and on every Twenty ſhillings worth of all ſorts of Merchandize Foreign or Domeſtick, brought in or carried out, one ſhilling; Wool, Hides, and Pelts, onely excepted. And alſo at the *King's* Inſtance granted, that the Heirs of *Charles de Bloys* ſhould for *Thirty thouſand Marks* be permitted to ſell *Bretaigne* in *France* to the *French*, and that *Robert de Vere* the new Duke of *Ireland*, the *Kings* moſt dangerous *Favourite*, ſhould have the ſaid *Thirty thouſand Marks*, (a prodigious Sum of Money in thoſe days) wholly to his own uſe; provided he would be gone before next *Eaſter* into *Ireland*, and there make uſe of it to recover the Dominions that the *King* hath given him in that Kingdom: ſo paſſionately did both Lords and Commons deſire his *Abſence*, that they would rather want ſo much Treaſure, than have him here to Seduce and Infatuate the King. As for *Michael Pole*, he was committed to *Windſor* Caſtle.

Furthermore, the *Parliament* obſerving, that by the Covetouſneſs of the *King's Miniſters*, the publik Revenue was *vainly conſumed*, the *King* inſufferably *defrauded* and *abuſed*, the Common People

People of the Realm by continual and grievous Burdens miſerably impoveriſhed, the Rents and Profits of the Nobles and Great Men much impaired, and their poor Tenants in many places forc'd to abandon their *Husbandry*, and leave their Farms empty and deſolate: And yet ſtill by all theſe things the Kings Officers only becoming unmeaſurably *Rich*; They therefore choſe Fourteen Lords of the Realm, and gave them leave and power to Inquire into, Treat of, and Determine all Affairs, Cauſes, and Complaints ariſing from the Death of King *Edward* the Third, to that preſent time: As alſo of the King's Expences and his Miniſters, and all other Matters whatſoever happening within the time to them Aſſigned; and cauſed the ſaid Lords ſo choſen to be *ſworn* on the *Holy Evangeliſts*, well and truly to regulate all Burdens and other Affairs incumbent on the King and Kingdom, and to *do Juſtice* to every one requiring the ſame, according to the Grace and Underſtanding given them by God. And alſo the *King took an Oath* to ſtand to their *Ordination*, and to encourage them in their *Actings*, and *not to revoke any Article of their Power*, but to Confirm and hold good and ſtable whatſoever the ſaid Councellors ſhould do or order during ſuch time; of whom Six, with the Three Officers of the King, appointed by Conſent of *Parliament*, viz. The *Chancellor*, the *Treaſurer*, and the *Lord Privy Seal*, ſhould at any time make a *Quorum*. And it was alſo *Ordained by Act of Parliament*, That if any One ſhould Adviſe the *King* to make any *Revocation* of their Power, though the *King* ſhould not *Revoke* it, yet the Perſon probably

Convicted only of ſuch ill Counſel, ſhould for the ſame forfeit all his Lands and Goods; and if he attempt it a ſecond time, be drawn and hang'd as a Traytor.

Whereupon the King Iſſued forth his *Commiſſion* under the *Great Seal of England*, Confirming the ſaid Lords in ſuch power in the words following, Tranſlated from the *Original French*.

RIchard, *King*, &c. *To all thoſe to whom theſe Letters ſhall come to be ſeen or heard, Greeting, We being duly Conſcious of the grievous Complaints of the Lords and Commons of our Realm in this preſent* Parliament *Aſſembled, That our Profits and Rents, and the Revenues of our Realm, by private and inſufficient Council, and the Ill-governance as well of certain our late Great Officers, as of divers other perſons being near Our Perſon, are ſo much conſumed, waſted, embezil'd, given away, granted, and alienated, deſtroyed, and evilly diſpoſed of and expended; That We are ſo much impoveriſhed and ſtript of Treaſure and Means, and the Subſtance of Our Crown ſo diminiſhed and deſtroyed, that We are neither able to Suſtain Honourably as We ought the State of Our* Houſhold, *nor maintain and manage thoſe* Wars *wherewith Our Realm is Environ'd, without great and outragious Oppreſſions and Charges on Our People greater than they can bear: And alſo that the*

good

good Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms *of Our ſaid Realm, to which we are* bound by Oath, *and obliged to maintain, are not, nor have been duly obſerved nor executed, nor* full Juſtice *or* Right *done to Our ſaid People; But many* Diſinheriſons *and other moſt great Miſchiefs and Damages have happened, as well to Us, as to Our People and whole Realm.*

Now We for the Honour of God, and for the good of Us and Our Realm, and for the quiet and relief of Our People, willing againſt the ſaid Miſchiefs to eſtabliſh a good and meet Remedy, as We have already of Our free will, at the Requeſt of the Lords and Commons, Ordained and Aſſigned ſuch Perſons for Our great Officers; that is to ſay, Our Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Keeper of Our Privy Seal, *as We eſteem good, faithful, and ſufficient, for the Honour and Profit of Us and Our ſaid Realm; ſo alſo of Our real Authority, certain knowledge, good pleaſure, and free will, and by the Advice and Aſſent of the* Prelates, Lords, *and* Commons *in full* Parliament, *in Aid of the good Governance of Our Realm, and the well and due execution of Our Laws, and for the Relief in time of that miſerable Condition under which both We and Our Subjects have long labour'd; having full Confidence in the good Advice, Senſe, and Diſcretion of the moſt Honour-*

able

able Fathers in God, William *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, Alexander *Archbiſhop of* York; *Our moſt dear Uncles,* Edmund, *Duke of* York, *and* Thomas *Duke of* Glouceſter; *the Honourable Fathers in God,* William *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, Thomas *Biſhop of* Exeter, *and* Nicholas *Abbot of* Waltham; *Our beloved and faithfull* Richard *Earl of* Arundel, John *Lord* Cobham, Richard le Scroop, *and* John Devereux, **Have** *Ordained, Aſſigned, and Deputed, and do Ordain, Aſſign, and Depute them to be of Our* Great and Continual Council, *for One whole Year next after the Date hereof, to Survey and Examin, together with Our ſaid Great Officers, as well the Eſtate, Condition, and Government, of Our whole Realm, and of all Our Officers and Miniſters of what ever Eſtate, Degree, or Condition they be, within Our Houſhold or without; and to Inquire and take Informacion by all ſuch ways as they ſhall think meet, of all Rents, Revenues, and Profits belonging to us, or which are due and ought to appertain to us, either within the Realm or without: And of all Gifts, Grants, Alienations, and Confirmations by Us made, of any Lands, Tenements, Rents, Annuities, Profits, Revenues, Wards, Marriages, Eſcheats, Forfeitures, Franchiſes, Liberties, Voidances of Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbeys,*

Abbeys, Priories, Farms of Houſes, Poſſeſſions of Aliens, &c. *And alſo of all Revenues and Profits, as well of Our ſaid Realm, as of Our Lands, Lordſhips, Cities, Villages, and other Poſſeſſions beyond the Sea; and of the Benefices and Poſſeſſions, and other Revenues of all that are in Rebellion againſt the Pope: And of the carrying Moneys out of the Realm by the Collectors of the Pope, or the Procurators of Cardinals, Lumbards, or other perſons; And likewiſe of the Profits of Our Cuſtoms, and all Subſidies granted to Us by the* Clergy *and* Laity, *ſince the Day of our Coronation, to that time: And of all Fees, Wages, and Rewards of Our Officers and Miniſters great and ſmall, and of* Annuities *and other Rewards granted; and Gifts made to any perſons in Fee or for term of Life, or in any other manner: And of Lands, Tenements, Rents, Revenues, and Forfeitures, bargained or* ſold to the prejudice and damage of Our Crown: *And alſo touching the Jewels and Goods which were Our Grandfathers at the time of his Death, and of Charters and General Pardons; and how General* Payments *have been levied and expended; how* Garriſons *and* Forts *have been maintained: And of all Defaults and Miſpriſions as well in Our Houſhold, as in Our Courts, and all other places of Our Realm: And by what perſons Our Revenues*

Revenues and the Subſtance of Our Crown have been withdrawn or diminiſhed; or the Common Law interrupted *or* delayed, *or any other Damage that hath happened to Us.* Giving, *and by theſe Preſents Granting, of Our Authority, and by the Advice and Aſſent of Our ſaid Subjects, unto Our ſaid Counſellors, or any Six of them, and to Our Great Officers aforeſaid, full Power and Authority, General and Special, to enter Our Palace and Houſhold, and to call before them all Our Officers, and to Command all Rolls, Records, and other Minuments and Evidences; and all Defaults, Waſts, and Exceſſes found in Our ſaid Houſhold, and in other Courts and Places; and all Deceits, Extortions, Oppreſſions, Damages, and Grievances whatſoever, that are to the prejudice, damage, and diſtreſs of Us and Our Crown, and the Eſtate of Our ſaid Realm in general, (though not herein particularly expreſſed or ſpecified) To Amend, Correct, Repair, Redreſs, Reform, and put into good and due Order and Eſtabliſhment: And alſo to hear and receive the Complaints of all Our Liege People, as well for Us and themſelves, againſt Our ſaid Officers and Counſellors: And all Oppreſſions, Wrongs, and Injuries, which cannot ſo well be amended and determined in the Courts of the* Common Law: *And to diſcuſs and finally determine*

all

all the Matters aforeſaid, and full Execution thereof to Award, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt meet, for the Honour and Profits of Us and Our Eſtate, and the Redintegration of the Rights and Profits of Our Crown, and the better Governance of the Peace and Laws of Our Kingdom, and the Relief of Our ſaid People. In which Proceedings, if difference of Opinion happen amongſt Our ſaid Counſellors, the ſame ſhall be concluded by Majority of Votes: And We Command and Charge all Prelates, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Sheriffs, the Treaſurer, and Controller, and all other Officers of Our Houſhold, Juſtices de Banco, *and other Officers, Miniſters, and Liege Subjects whatſoever: That to Our ſaid Counſellors and Officers in manner aforeſaid, they be Obedient, Aiding, and Aſſiſting.* **In Witneſs whereof,** &c. Given under Our Great Seal the 19*th* Day of *November.*

BUT notwithſtanding all theſe *Proviſions*, no ſooner was the *Parliament* Diſſolv'd, but the *King* look'd upon all they had done to be *Diſſolved* likewiſe; or at leaſt *De facto*, he eſteem'd as nothing, all their Complaints againſt *de Pole*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the reſt; for he ſoon received them into *greater Favour and Confidence* (if it might be) than ever before: Who being full of *Revenge* themſelves, were not wanting to blow their *Poyſon* into his Royal

Royal Breaſt; For thus their fatal Whiſpers and Suggeſtions are expreſt by *Truſſel*, in his *Continuation of* Daniel's *Hiſtory of* England, *Fol.* 9.—*Theſe Triumvirs* (ſaith he) *incenſed the King againſt the Nobles that were beſt deſerving, partly upon Diſgraces deſertfully done unto them; partly upon malicious Emulation to ſee others ſo generally Belov'd, (except of the King) and themſelves ſo Contemptible. And that their private Spleen might carry ſome ſhew of Publick Reſpect, they ſuggeſted to the King, he was but half, yea not half a King: For* (ſaid they) *If we reſpect matters of State, You bear the* Sword, *but They* Sway *it; You have the* Shew, *but They have the* Authority *of a* Prince, *uſing your Name as a colourable Pretext to their Proceedings; and your Perſon as a* Cypher *to make their Number the greater by the Addition thereof, without which they could be nothing; neither are you any thing* more *by being ſo placed. Look to the Duty of your* Subjects, *and you ſhall find it is at Their Devotion: For you cannot* Command *nor* Demand, *but with ſuch Limitations and Exceptions, as They pleaſe to propoſe. And for your private Actions, your Bounty (the moſt to be Celebrated Vertue in a Prince) is reſtrained, your Expences meaſured, and your Affections confined, to Frown or Favour, as they ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe you. What* Ward *is ſo much under Government of his* Guardian? *Wherein will, or can they more abridge you, except they ſhould take from you the Place, as they have done the Power of a Prince?* &c.

Thus theſe *Sycophants* whiſper'd their *venomous Suggeſtions* to *exaſperate* the *King* againſt his beſt Subjects,

Subjects, whoſe *Youth* and *Weakneſs* rendred him too much diſpoſed for ſuch Impreſſions, and framed his conſcious Mind to a full but *needleſs fear*. He was much incenſed at the Removal of his *Chancellor* and *Treaſurer* out of their *Offices*; and that the Duke of *Ireland* (rather than part with whom he would hazard All) muſt go out of the *Realm*; ſuppoſing it a Reſtraint to his *Regal Authority*, not to have *Abſolute Power* in all things, to *give* and *forgive* at his pleaſure.

Now when theſe private Incendiaries perceived the King's Humour once *ſharpned*, they ſo ply'd him with plauſible perſwaſions; that (though naturally he was not of any *cruel Diſpoſition*) yet they drew him into many *violent* and *indirect courſes*, partly through *negligence* to ſearch out the Truth, partly through delight to be flattered, and a vain reſolute humour to ſupport thoſe beyond *Reaſon*, whom he had Advanced without *Merit*.

In the beginning of *March*, 1387. The Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham* (purſuant to the *Order* of the late *Parliament*) put to Sea with a Fleet, which they manag'd with ſuch Courage and Conduct, that before *Midſummer-Day*, (beſides other famous Exploits) they had taken about One hundred and ſixty *French Ships* richly laden: But the *Court-Ear-wigs*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and the reſt, enviouſly *miſrepreſented* all their *Services* unto the *King*, whiſpering, That they had only undone a few Merchants, which it would have been more for our Honour and Intereſt to have let alone; ſo that at their Return inſtead of *Reſpect* and *Thanks*, the *King* (whoſe equal *unhappineſs* it was to grace

unde-

undeserving men, and *disgrace* the *deserving*) look't upon them but *ill*, and the Duke of *Ireland* would not look upon them at all: Whereupon the Earls in *discontent* retir'd from Court to their own Country Houses.

And still more to exasperate both Nobles and People, the said Duke of *Ireland* would now needs be divorced from his Wife *Philippa* (Grand-daughter to King *Edward* the Third, by his Daughter *Isabell* and the Arch-Duke of *Austria*) a Lady of sufficient Beauty, and irreproachable Vertue; and in her stead preferred to his Bed one *Lancerona*, a mean *Bohemian*, that waited on the Queen, Daughter some say of a *Vintner*, or as others will have it of a *Joyner*. The King took no notice of this Affront offered to his *Cosin-German*; but the Duke of *Glouceſter* her *Uncle*, resented it highly, and waited for an opportunity to Revenge it; which the other well perceiv'd, and was resolv'd to *strike first*. *Easter* was now come and past, the time limited by *Parliament* for the Duke of *Ireland*'s being *gone*; but he (though so largely hired to it as aforesaid) cared not for that *Voyage*; Only to *wheadle* the People, the King went down with him into *Wales*, on pretence of seeing him take *Shipping*, but in truth, that being there remote, they might more securely consult how to circumvent and destroy the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and other faithful Subjects of the Kingdom: For there were with the King *Michael de la Pole*, *Tresilian* the Chief Justice, and many others that were conscious of their own Deserts, and feared to be brought to Justice, as well as the said

ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, and therefore readily conſpired with him againſt the Lords. Having thus laid their Plot, and agreed the manner of putting it in execution; back comes the King to *Nottingham*, and as if *Ireland*'s Voyage had been *quite forgot*, brings him and the reſt of the *Cabal* with him. Thither they ſummon divers *Citizens* of *London*, the *Sheriffs* of the ſeveral Counties, and all the *Judges* of *England*: The *Londoners* becauſe ſeveral of them having lately confeſſed themſelves guilty of Treaſon, had been *pardoned* by the King, were call'd; that in return of that Favour, they might *accuſe* the Lords of ſuch Crimes as the King with his Councellors in *Wales* had *contrived againſt them*: The Sheriffs were adviſed with, what *Forces* they could raiſe for the Kings Service againſt the Barons; and alſo commanded, that they ſhould not permit any to be returned as *Knights of the Shire*, or *Burgeſſes for the next Parliament, but ſuch as the King and his Council ſhould direct, or nominate.* To which the Sheriffs reply'd, That the Commons generally favoured the ſaid Lords, ſo that it was not in their power to raiſe an Army in this Cauſe; and as *for Parliament men, the people would hold their ancient Cuſtoms*, which require that they be *freely choſen by the Commons*; Nor could the ſame be hindred. Theſe Anſwers were not very agreeable to the Court Deſigns: But the *Judges* were more compliant, for not only *Treſilian* the *Chief Juſtice*, had about the ſame time *indicted two thouſand perſons* at *Coventry*, and he and *John Blake* an *Apprentice of the Law*, peruſed and approved under their Seals, the *Indictments* againſt the Lords; but

alſo the better to colour Proceedings with a Form of Law, ſeveral *Queſtions* were propounded to them touching the late *Act of Parliament*, giving the fourteen Lords power to inſpect and puniſh miſcarriages of the Kings Miniſters as aforeſaid: To the end (as a * modern Author obſerves) *That what the Duke of* Ireland *and the reſt thought fit, might paſs for Law out of the Judges mouths, the Queſtions being ſo fram'd and propos'd, as it was eaſier to underſtand what the King would have to be Law, than what in truth was ſo.* For it ſeems they proceeded againſt their Conſciences, in that ſeveral of them, and particularly *Belknapp* Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, did (as *Knyghton*, *Col.* 2694, aſſures us) very earneſtly refuſe to ſign the *Reſolutions*, till *Ireland* and *de Pole* forced him to it, by threatning him *to kill him* if he refuſed; Whereupon having put to his Seal, he burſt forth into theſe words before them, —*Now want I nothing but a Ship, or a nimble Horſe, or an Halter to bring me to that death I deſerve: If I had not done this, I ſhould have been kill'd by your hands, and now I have gratified the Kings pleaſure and yours in doing it, I have well deſerv'd to die, for Treaſon againſt the Nobles of the Land.*—Which laſt words were like to have prov'd fatally Prophetick, for not long after in the next *Parliament* he was indeed condemned to die, though not executed for the ſame. Some Authors ſay, That *all the Judges* of *England*, (except *William Skipwith* abſent by reaſon of ſickneſs) joyn'd in anſwering theſe Queſtions, which ſeems probable, becauſe they were afterwards all queſtion'd and puniſh'd for the ſame; yet in the

* Sir *W. Cb.* p. 247.

Record

Record there are but Five named; poſſibly the others might conſent, though only theſe ſet their Seals to it.

The Queſtions ſo propoſed to the Judges, and their Anſwers were as follow:

BE *it remembred, That on the* 25th *day of* Auguſt, *in the* 11th *year of the Reign of King* Richard *the Second, at the Caſtle of* Nottingham, *before our ſaid Lord the King,* Robert Treſylian *Chief Juſtice of* England, *and* Robert Belknappe *Chief Juſtice of the* Common Bench *of our ſaid Lord the King,* John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, *and* William de Burgh, *Knights, Juſtices, and Aſſociates of the ſaid* Rob. Belknappe, *and* John de Lokton *the* Kings Serjeant at Law, *in the preſence of the Lords and other Witneſſes under written, were perſonally required by our ſaid Lord the King, on the* Faith and Allegiance *wherein to him the ſaid King they are bound, to anſwer faithfully unto certain* Queſtions *here-under ſpecified, and to them then and there truly recited, and upon the ſame to* declare the Law *according to their diſcretion*; Viz.

1. Imprimis, *It was demanded of them, Whether that* new Statute *and* Ordination, *and* Commiſſion, *made and publiſhed in the laſt Parliament held at* Weſtminſter, *be not derogatory to the* Royalty *and* Prerogative *of our ſaid Lord the King?*

To which they unanimouſly anſwered, That the

ſame are derogatory *thereunto, eſpecially because they were againſt his* will.

2. Quæry *of them, How thoſe are to be* puniſhed, *who* procured *that Statute and Commiſſion.*

To which they unanimouſly anſwered, That they were to be puniſhed with Death, *except the King would pardon them.*

3. Quæry *of them, How thoſe are to be puniſhed who* moved the *King to conſent to the making of the ſaid Statute.*

Whereunto they anſwered with one accord, That they ought to loſe their Lives, *unleſs his Majeſty would pardon them.*

4. *It was askt them, What puniſhment they deſerved who* compell'd, ſtreightned, *or* neceſſitated *the King to conſent to the making of the ſaid Statute and Commiſſion.*

To which they all anſwered, That they ought to ſuffer as Traytors.

5. Quæry *of them, How thoſe are to be puniſhed who* hindred *the King from exerciſing thoſe things which appertain to his Royalty and Prerogative.*

To which Queſtion they unanimouſly anſwered, That they are to be puniſhed as Traytors.

6. Quæry *of them, Whether after in a Parliament aſſembled, the Affairs of the Kingdom, and the cauſe of calling that Parliament, are by the Kings Command* declared, *and certain Articles limited by the King, upon which the Lords and Commons in that Parliament ought to proceed; if yet the ſaid*

Lords

Lords and Commons will proceed altogether upon other Articles *and* Affairs, *and not at all upon thoſe limited and propoſed to them by the King, until the King ſhall have firſt anſwered them upon the Articles and Matters ſo by them ſtarted and expreſs'd, although the Kings* Command *be to the contrary*; whether *in ſuch caſe the King ought not to have the Governance of the Parliament, and effectually* over-rule *them, ſo as that they ought to proceed* firſt *on the Matters propoſed by the King; or whether on the contrary, the Lords and Commons ought firſt to have the Kings Anſwer upon their Propoſals before they proceeded further?*

To which Queſtion they anſwered unanimouſly, That the King in that behalf has the Governance, and may appoint what ſhall be firſt handled, *and ſo gradually what next in all Matters to be treated of in* Parliament, *even to the end of the* Parliament: *And if any act contrary to the Kings pleaſure made known therein, they are to be puniſhed as* Traytors.

7. Quæry *of them, Whether the King when ever he pleaſes can* Diſſolve *the* Parliament, *and command the Lords and Commons to depart from thence, or not.*

To which they unanimouſly anſwered, That he can, and if any one ſhall then proceed in Parliament *againſt the Kings will, he is to be puniſht as a* Traytor.

8. Quæry *of them, Since the King can when ever he pleaſes* remove *any of his* Judges *and* Officers, *and juſtifie or puniſh them for their Offences; Whether*

the Lords and Commons can without the will of the King Impeach *in* Parliament *any of the ſaid* Judges *or* Officers *for any of their Offences.*

To which they unanimouſly anſwered, That they cannot, *and if any one ſhould do ſo, he is to be puniſht as a* Traytor.

9. Quæry *of them, How he is to be puniſht who moved in* Parliament, *that the* Statute *ſhould be ſent for, whereby* Edward *the Second (the Kings great Grandfather) was proceeded againſt and depoſed in* Parliament; *by means of ſending for and impoſing which* Statute, *the ſaid late* Statute, Ordination, *and* Commiſſion, *were* deviſed *and brought forth in* Parliament.

To which they anſwered, That as well he that ſo moved, *as he who by pretence of that* Motion *carried the ſaid* Statute *to the* Parliament, *are* Traytors *and* Criminals *to be puniſhed with Death.*

10. *It was demanded of them, Whether the* Judgment *given in the laſt* Parliament *held at* Weſtminſter, *againſt* Michael de Pole, *Earl of* Suffolk, *was* Erroneous *and* Revocable, *or not.*

To which Queſtion *they unanimouſly anſwered, That if that* Judgment *were now to be given, they would not give it; becauſe it ſeems to them, that the ſaid* Judgment *is* Revocable, *as being* Erroneous *in* every part *of it.*

In Teſtimony of all which, the Judges and Serjeant aforeſaid, to theſe Preſents *have put their* Seals, *in the preſence of the Reverend Lords,* Alexander *Arch-*

Archbiſhop of York, Robert *Archbiſhop of* Dublin, John *Biſhop of* Durham, Thomas *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *and* John *Biſhop of* Bangor, Robert *Duke of* Ireland, Michael *Earl of* Suffolk, John Rypon *Clerk*, *and* John Blake *Eſquire*: **Given the Place, Day, Month, and Year aforeſaid.**

But though they had thus reſolv'd the *Law* to their Minds, there was a greater Difficulty, how to arm themſelves with *Power* enough for *Execution*; In order to which, they privately ſent abroad to *Levy Men*, but found them come in very *ſlowly*, becauſe the Lords were generally *beloved*; and theſe Favourites of the King equally *hated*. Nor could they manage their Deſigns with ſuch *ſecrecy*, but the Lords had notice; whereupon to take off all ill Impreſſions made againſt them in the Kings Mind; His Uncle the Duke of *Glouceſter* (chief of the Lords, againſt whom the Courtiers had combin'd) voluntarily before the Biſhop of *London*, and many Nobles of the Realm, did make Oath, *That he had never imagined any thing to the prejudice of the King, but had ſtudied and performed to his power, what tended to the Kings Honour and Advantage, and what alſo was well-pleaſing to him; except only that he could not kindly regard the Duke of* Ireland, *whom the King immoderately lov'd, and who had diſhonoured one that was not only a near Relation of him the ſaid Duke of* Glouceſter, *but alſo of the Kings; which it was fit ſhould be reveng'd*, &c.

With the Contents of which Oath, the Biſhop acquainted the King, who ſeem'd inclinable to

credit the ſame; till *Michael de Pole* began to exaſperate him againſt the Duke: To whom the Biſhop ſmartly reply'd, —*Be ſilent, Sir, it becomes not you to talk, who ſtand condemned in* Parliament, *and are now alive only by the Kings Grace and Favour.* Which ſo offended the King, that he commanded the Biſhop out of his Preſence, bidding him begon home *to his Church*; who at his return inform'd the Duke what had paſs'd, and how much the King was *ſway'd* by thoſe wicked Councellors: So that it was high time for him to *provide* for his own ſafety, and obviate that deſtruction which was prepared for him.

Hereupon the Duke of *Glouceſter* with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*, (who were all deſigned to the ſame Condemnation, if not prevented) adviſing together, reſolve to ſtand upon their *Guard*, and Treat with the King concerning the Premiſſes, and that Favour which he afforded to them, who were *Traytors* both to Him and the Publick, and the *imminent hazard* of the Kingdom thence ariſing. The King endeavoured to have ſurprized them *ſingly* before they had united their Retinues, but failed therein; ſo that with a very conſiderable Force they aſſembled together at *Haryngey-Park*: The King was juſt then preparing (as it was ſaid) for a Journey to *Canterbury*, to pay as was pretended his Devotions at the *Shrine* of S. *Thomas Becket*, but indeed from thence to have paſs'd into *France*, and delivered up to the *French* King *Calice*, and ſeveral other important Places, which by the *fatal Counſel* of his *pernicious Flatterers*, he had ſold unto that King. But this News of the Lords being in Arms, diverted that

Voyage,

Voyage, and put King *Richard* into great Confuſion, not knowing what meaſures to take: Some of thoſe about him were for *reconciling* the Lords with *fair Promiſes*; others were for raiſing the *Londoners*, and what other *Forces* could be procured, and *fighting* them; of which opinion eſpecially was the Biſhop of *York*: But this the more prudent *diſapproved*, alledging the Diſhonour and Damage would accrue to the King if worſted.

Whileſt theſe *wiſe men* could not agree what courſe to take, there was a *Fool* ſtumbled on an *Expreſſion*, which if duly conſidered, might have done the King more *Service* than all their *Debates*: This was a certain Knight called *Hugh de Lynne*, who had been bred in the Wars, but by an accident loſt his Underſtanding, and now as a *Natural* was maintained by the Charity of ſeveral of the Nobles and Retainers to the *Court*; The King meeting him during theſe Conſultations, and being willing to divert himſelf by hearing his fooliſh diſcourſe, askt him jocularly, *What he ſhould do with the Lords that were Aſſembled together in the before mentioned Park*; To which the ſaid *Hugh* very melancholly anſwered, —*March forth, Sir! and let us fall upon them, and kill every Mothers Son of them, which being done, by God's Eye, you will gallantly have deſtroyed all the faithful Subjects you have in your Kingdom.*

In the mean time *Mediators* for Peace poſting to and fro between the King and the Lords; it was at laſt by their Interceſſion concluded, that the Lords ſhould come before the King at *Weſtminſter*, and receive the Kings Anſwer to their Grie-

Grievances: The Biſhop of *Ely* and divers other Perſons of Honour and Credit, giving their Oaths on the Kings behalf, *That no Treachery or ill practice ſhould be uſed, but that they might come and go with ſafety; and if any were deſigned, that they would admoniſh them of it.* A Caution that in the Event proved not *unneceſſary:* For on the day they ſhould appear, they had Intelligence, that there was an *Ambuſcade* laid for them about the *Mews*, whereupon they delay'd their coming, and the King (who had waited an hour or two for them beyond the time appointed) enquiring the reaſon, was told by the ſaid Biſhop of *Ely*, that it was becauſe he did not keep his word, for there was ſecretly planted above a thouſand Armed Men to *cut them off* in their Paſſage: The King ſeemed much offended at this Treachery, and ſwore that he was not *privy* to it, and therefore commanded the Sheriffs of *London* to ſearch the *Mews*, and if they found any perſons aſſembled there for ſuch a purpoſe, to *kill* them. But in truth, the *Contrivance* was not there, but in a place at *Weſtminſter*, where Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *Nicholas Bramber* had to this intent got together great numbers of their Faction in Arms, whom upon this diſcovery they diſmiſt, and retired into *London.* And now the King promiſing again *ſafe Conduct* to the Lords, they ſoon after Arrived in his Royal Preſence, whom they found in *Weſtminſter-Hall* in his Robes of State, and with his *Crown* on his *Head*, and *Scepter* in his hand; To whom they preſented themſelves on their *Knees*; and the Biſhop of *Ely* Lord Chancellor on the Kings behalf made a Speech, blaming them for

their

their raiſing Forces, and demanding the Cauſe, withal recommending the Kings *Goodneſs*, who choſe thus graciouſly to Treat with them, rather than to *Chaſtiſe* them by *Arms*, which he told them his Majeſty wanted not *power* eaſily to have done.

To this the Lords anſwered, That they had Aſſembled together for the *good of the King and Kingdom, and to remove Traytors from the King*: Naming particularly *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Treſylian* the falſe Chief Juſtice, and *Nicholas Bramber* the falſe Knight of *London*, whom they *averr'd to be Traytors*, and (flinging down their Gloves) that they were ready to *prove them to be ſuch by Battel*; [a manner of Tryal not unuſual in thoſe times.] To which the King himſelf anſwered, *That it ſhall not be determined in that manner, but in the next* Parliament; which we appoint to be the Morrow after the *Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin* next, where both Parties coming ſhould have Juſtice done according to Law: And in the mean time all of them to be in the Kings Protection without injuring one another. —And ſo after ſome friendly Diſcourſe, and *Drinking* with the King, they departed thence. And two days after the King (the more to appeaſe the Lords, and ſatisfie the People) cauſed *Proclamation* to be made in *London*, ſeeming in Excuſe of the Duke of *Glouceſter* and his Aſſociates; but indeed to amuſe them, and preſerve his dear *Favourites* from threatned *Violence*; the Tenour whereof was to this effect:

Richard,

Knyghton, Col. 2701. RIchard, King, &c. *We hereby make known to all Our Liege and faithful Subjects throughout Our whole Kingdom of* England, *that whereas* Thomas *Duke of* Glouceſter, Richard *Earl of* Arundel, Thomas *Earl of* Warwick *have been by certain Perſons who little underſtood the Truth of Affairs, Defamed as* Traytors *to Us and Our Kingdom; We therefore having as becomes Us with the higheſt Deliberation and greateſt Diligence weigh'd the Cauſe of ſuch Scandal, and moſt diligently to Our utmoſt Power, ſearching to the bottom for the Truth, with the Aſſiſtance of Our Council, do not find any thing done or acted by them worthy of the Blot of* Suſpicion, *much leſs any ſcruple of* Evidence *of their being* Guilty; *Whereupon We have Decreed, to Declare the ſaid* Defamation *to be falſe, unjuſt, wicked, and wholly void of all* Truth: *And We do teſtifie the ſaid* Duke *and* Earls *to be worthy of* good Fame, *and Innocent, and not ſo much as* ſuſpected of any Crime; *and as much as in Us lies, and as we are able We will approve and maintain them ſo to be, and do take them hence-forwards into Our* Special Protection. *Furthermore, We are willing to make known to all Perſons by theſe Preſents, who are their* Defamers; *Viz.* Alexander *Archbiſhop of* York,

York, Robert *Duke of* Ireland, Michael *Earl of* Suffolk, Robert Treſylyen *Our Chief Juſtice*, *and* Nicholas Brembre *of* London, *Knight, whom alſo We take into Our Protection, that they may Anſwer whatever ſhall be objected againſt them in Our next* Parliament. *Commanding that none on any pretence whatſoever, ſhall either to* Them, *or the forenamed Lords openly or ſecretly, offer any kind of Diſturbance, Grievance, or Obedience, till ſuch prefixt time of Our* Parliament.

But for all theſe *fair words*, the Popular Lords knowing the Kings *Mutability*, and as well the *Influence* thoſe his ill Councellors had over him, as their malice and perfidiouſneſs, thought it the ſafeſt courſe not to *ſeparate* themſelves, but with a vigilant Eye to obſerve the *Motions* of *Affairs*.

The Duke of *Ireland* and the reſt accuſed, did not appear with the King at this Meeting, and 'twas their wiſeſt courſe to be abſent; for 'tis believ'd the Kings Preſence would ſcarce have been able to protect them: Nor had they any mind to hazard themſelves on the Juſtice of the next Parliament; But rather reſolv'd if they could to ſecure themſelves by Arms. To which purpoſe the Duke of *Ireland* was all this while raiſing of Men in *Cheſhire* and *Wales*, either by the Kings *Commiſſion*, or *Connivance*, and that it was more than the *le*[illegible] may juſtly be ſuſpected; becauſe when he [illegible]ade conſiderable Levies, the King commanded *Thomas Molineux*, a man of great Courage and

and Conduct, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, to *accompany* and *ſafe-conduct* the ſaid Duke with all *the Forces* he could make, to his Majeſties Preſence. The Adverſe Lords being *Advertiz'd* of theſe Preparations, and that they were upon their *March*, beſet the Ways by which the Duke ſhould paſs to *London*, reſolving to Encounter him before he ſhould have encreas'd his *Power*, and *countenanc'd* his *Actions* with the *Name* and *Preſence* of the *King*.

Accordingly *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter* met them at a Place called *Babbelake* near *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*, whom the Duke no ſooner ſaw, but contrary to the Reſolution of moſt of thoſe that were with him, he prepared for *flight*; however *Molineux* prevailed with him to joyn *Battel*, but ſcarce *ten Ounces of Blood* was loſt on both ſides, before the Duke (who had been ſo good at *raiſing Quarrels*, ſhew'd himſelf as bad at *ſtinting* them) and ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and *forſook the Field*, whereby all his Men being diſheartned, and Sir *Thomas Molineux* ſlain, the Earl of *Derby* obtain'd a *cheap*, but *intire* Victory, allay'd with nothing but the *eſcape* of *Ireland*; who having mounted a *fleet Nag*, and being to paſs a River, caſt away both Gauntlet and Sword to be the *lighter*, and ſo *ſwam* over, and got firſt into *Holland*; where finding but cold Entertainment, he went to *Utrecht*, and after two or three years rambling up and down as a *Fugitive*, died at *Lovain* in *Brabant*. Though his *War-horſe* and *Armour* being found on the Brink of the River, raiſed a general Report that he was *Drown'd*; which probably might facilitate his eſcape.

eſcape. Amongſt his Baggage was taken a very conſiderable Sum of *Gold*, and (what was of greater Value) *the Kings Letters*, ordering his preſent Repair to *London*, and promiſing *to live and die with him* againſt all Oppoſers.

But this *Diſaſter* Thunder-ſtruck the whole *Cabal*; The Earl of *Suffolk* in diſguiſe flies to *Calice*, where his own *Brother* being Governour of the Caſtle refuſed to *harbour* him without the Conſent of the Lord *William Beauchamp* Governour of the Town, who return'd him back as a Priſoner into *England* to the *King*: But the King not only let him go at *large*, but ſent for over, and for ſometime *Committed* the ſaid *Beauchamp* for ſuch his honeſt diligence: The rather 'tis ſuppoſed becauſe he had formerly for the Kings *Intereſt* thwarted his *pleaſure*; For on the late Bargains and *private Intrigues* with *France*, King *Richard* having as aforeſaid, ſold *Calice* to the *French* King, ſent a Knight with Letters under his *Privy-Signet*, commanding *Beauchamp* to deliver up the Town to him, and one Sir *John Golofre* with other Letters to the *French* King; but he knowing the vaſt *Importance* of the Place, and believing the King *Impoſed* upon by wicked Councel, reſolutely anſwered, *That the Cuſtody and Government of the Town was committed to him in the Preſence and by the Authority of the King and the Nobles of the Realm openly and publickly, and he would not ſurrender it in Huggermugger, nor part with his Command but in their preſence.* And alſo he took *Golofre's* Letters to the *French* King from him, and privately *tranſmitted* them to the Duke of *Glouceſter*: For which Affronts

Knyghton, Col. 2698.

fronts the King waited an opportunity to be reveng'd, and had proceeded 'tis thought more *severely*, but that the ſaid *Beauchamp* was a perſon extreamly beloved, and the King was not at preſent in a condition to uſe rigours, and ſo by the Mediation of Friends he was quickly diſcharg'd.

The reſt of the *hated Faction*, as the Archbiſhop of *York*, Juſtice *Treſylian*, and others, ran every man like Coneys to their *Covert*, and were not to be heard of: Nay the *King* betook himſelf to the *Tower* of *London*, and there made Proviſion for his Winter Quarters; all his Deſigns being fruſtrated, firſt by *Raſhneſs* in taking Arms, and afterwards by *Cowardiſe* in uſing them. And to add to his *Confuſion*, about the ſame time an *Envoy* from the *French* King was taken with Letters, whereby the *French* King Licens'd King *Richard*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and ſome others, with Attendants to ſuch a Number, to come into *Boloign*, where he would be ready to receive them with great *Pomp*, and from them receive the *Poſſeſſion of* Calice, *and other ſtrong Holds*; for which he had (ſays *Walſingham*, fol. 332.) *already paid King* Richard.

The Lords therefore perceiving ſuch conſiderable Territories ready to be *loſt* abroad, as well as Extravagancies practiſed at home, haſten'd their March firſt to S. *Albans*, and next to *London*, where with an Army of Forty thouſand men, they Arrived on S. *Stephen*'s Day; the Citizens furniſhing them with Victuals; and whether more out of *Fear* or *Love*, I cannot ſay, offered to let them into the City; but they choſe rather to Quarter in the Suburbs, proteſting not to depart without

perſonal

perſonal Conference with the King, which at laſt he granted; permitting them firſt to ſearch the *Tower*, to prevent any Surpize: The Duke and Earls then waited upon him, and after a few *cold Complements* laid before him, the Confederacy againſt their *Lives* at *Nottingham*, his Letters to the Duke of *Ireland*, contrary to his *Royal Word*, together with his *diſhonourable Treaty to deliver up* Calice *to the* French King, *&c.* The King heard them at firſt with *ſilence* and *patience*, and afterwards with a dejected Countenance, and not without ſome *Tears*, ſeemed to acknowledge that he could neither *deny* or *juſtifie* what they complain'd of; and certainly the Stomachs of the Lords muſt needs more Relent to thoſe *luke-warm drops*, than they would to his greateſt violence. So *agreed it was*, that he would meet them next day at *Weſtminſter*, there to treat of theſe and other neceſſary Affairs of the Realm. But no ſooner were they gone, but ſome Abuſers of the *Royal Ear* ſuggeſted, that his going thither would be neither Honourable nor ſafe, but bring both his Perſon into *preſent danger* and *contempt*, and occaſion a future Abridgment of his Authority: Whereupon the Kings Mind turned and began to *Retract* his Promiſe; This heated the Lords ſo much, that being *fluſht* with Opportunity and Power, they ſent him peremptory word, *That if he did thus faulter with them, and would not appear to Conſult the good of the Realm, they would take other meaſures:* Intimating no leſs than the *Election of another*. This ſo work'd upon the King, that he was pleaſed to meet them, and to conſent (though not without ſome Reluctancy) that ſeveral of

his *Minions* ſhould be baniſht the Court; as *Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, Fryar *Ruſhok* the Kings *Confeſſor*, and Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; (but both he and *York* had already ſhewed them a fair pair of Heels:) The Lords *Souch*, *Harmyworth*, *Burnel*, and *Beamont*; and ſeveral Knights, as Sir *Alberick Vere*, Sir *Balwyne Bereford*, Sir *John Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Sir *John Lovel*, *&c.* Together with certain Ladies, *Quæ non tantum inutiles, ſed infames*; Who were (ſaith *Walſingham*) *not only unneceſſary, uſeleſs, and unprofitable at Court, but likewiſe ſcandalous and infamous:* And theſe were the Lady *Mowen*, the Lady *de Molyng*, and the Lady *Ponyngs*, Wife to the ſaid Sir *John Worth*; who all were obliged to appear next *Parliament*. There were likewiſe actually taken into Cuſtody Sir *Simon Burley*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *Nicholas Brembor*, and divers other Knights; *Clifford*, *Lincoln*, and *Motford*, Clerks; *John Beauchamp de Holt* the Kings Steward, or *Privy-Purſe*, *Nicholas Lake* Dean of the Chappel, and *John Blake* Barriſter at Law; who were all diſpoſed in ſeveral *Caſtles*.

After *Candlemas*, 1588, the *Parliament* began at *London*, (though the King uſed many means to *daſh* or *defer* the ſame:) The Lords came attended with ſufficient Strength to ſuppreſs any *Rebellion*, or *Tumult* that might happen; and continued their Sitting till *Whitſuntide*, to the great *Fear* of ſome, *Hope* of others, and *Expectation* of all: Part of their *firſt Work* was for ſeveral days to *Summon* the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Treſylian* the Chief Juſtice, and Sir *Nicholas Brember* Citizen

tizen of *London*, to anſwer to the *Treaſons* where-with they ſtood charged, but none of them appearing, they were all *Out-law'd*, and their *Lands* and *Goods* forfeited and *ſeized* into the Kings hands, with a *proviſion* by common conſent in Parliament that they ſhould never be *pardon'd* or permitted to appear again in *England*.

The **Appeal** *or* **Charge** *exhibited againſt them in Parliament tho'* long, *is yet remarkable; and not being extant in* Engliſh, *I ſhall ſo far preſume on the Reader's Patience, as to inſert it, Tranſlated from the Original, as we find it in* Knyghton *de* Eventibus Angliæ, Col. 2713. *as follows*, viz.

'TO our Moſt excellent and redoubted Lord 'the *King*, and his *Council*, in this preſent 'Parliament, do ſhew *Tho.* Duke of *Gloceſter*, Con-'ſtable of *England*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, *Richard* 'Earl of *Arundel* and *Surry*, *Thomas* Earl of *War-'wick*, and *Tho.* Earl Marſhal; That whereas they 'the ſaid Duke and Earls, as Loyal Subjects of our 'Lord the King, for the profit of the King and 'Realm, on the Fourteenth day of *November* laſt 'paſt, at *Waltham-Croſs* in the County of *Hertford*, 'did before the moſt reverend Fathers in God *Wil-'liam* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely*, 'late Chancellour of *England*, *John Waltham*, then 'Lord Privy Seal, *John* Lord *Cobham*, the Lords '*Richard le Scrope*, and *John Denroſs*, then *Com-'miſſioners* of our Lord the King, Ordain'd and 'made in the laſt Parliament, Appeal [Accuſe or

'Charge] *Alexander*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *Robert de Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Treſylian*, the *falſe Juſtice*, and *Nicholas Brember* the falſe Knight of *London*, of ſeveral *High Treaſons* by them committed againſt the King and his Realm, and did offer to proſecute and maintain the ſame, and ſufficient Sureties to find, praying the ſaid Lords to *certifie* the ſame to their ſaid *Soveraign Lord*; which the ſame day the ſaid *Commiſſioners* did accordingly certifie to the King at *Weſtminſter*, where moſt of the ſaid perſons ſo *Appealed*, being preſent, were fully informed and certified of ſuch *Appeal*.

'And whereas ſhortly after, by the Aſſent of the *King* and his *Council*, the ſaid *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, *&c.* coming to *Weſtminſter*, in Preſence of the *King*, and of his *Council* there, for the profit of the *King* and his Realm, did *again Appeal* the ſaid Arch-biſhop of *York*, and other falſe Traytors, his Companions, appealed of high Treaſons by them committed againſt the King and his Realm, as *Traytors* and *Enemies* to the King and Realm, in affirmance of their *former Appeal*, offering to purſue and maintain it as aforeſaid. Which Appeal our Lord the King did *accept*, and thereupon aſſigned a day to the ſaid Parties at his firſt Parliament which ſhould be holden on the Morrow after *Candlemaſs* next inſuing, then to have and receive *full Juſtice* upon the ſaid Appeal, and in the mean time took into his ſafe and moſt ſpecial *protection* the ſaid Parties, with all their People *Goods* and *Chattels*, and cauſed the ſame to be then proclaimed and publiſhed.

'And whereas alſo on *Monday* next after the day of

'of the Nativity of our Lord Chriſt next after, the 'ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*, &c. in the preſence of the 'King in the *Tower* of *London*, as Loyal Subjects of 'the King and his Realm, did Appeal the ſaid Arch-'biſhop of *York*, &c. as falſe Traytors, &c. 'Whereupon the King aſſign'd them a day in the 'next Parliament to purſue and declare their Ap-'peal, and by the advice of his Council did cauſe '*Proclamation* to be made in all the Counties of '*England* by Writs under his great Seal, *That all 'the ſaid perſons, ſo Appealed, ſhould be at the ſaid 'Parliament to anſwer thereunto.* Which Appeal 'the ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*, &c. the Appealors, are 'now ready to purſue, maintain, and declare, and 'do by theſe Preſents as Loyal ſubjects of our Lord 'the King, for the profit of the King and Realm, '*Appeal* the ſaid Archbiſhop, &c. of *High Treaſons* 'by them committed againſt our Lord the King, 'and his Realm, as Traytors and Enemies of both 'King and Kingdom; which Treaſons are decla-'red, and fully ſpecified in certain *Schedules* here-'unto annexed: And they do *pray*, that the ſaid 'perſons *Appealed* may be *called*, and *right* and *Ju-'ſtice* done in this preſent Parliament.

'Imprimis, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, Conſtable 'of *England*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, &c. do Appeal 'and ſay, that *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Ro-'bert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, and *Michael de la 'Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, falſe Traytors to the King 'and Realm, ſeeing the *tender Age* of our ſaid Lord 'the King, and the Innocency of his Royal Perſon, 'have by many falſe Contrivances, by them with-'out *Loyalty* or *Good Faith* imagined and ſugge-'ſted, endeavoured wholly to *Ingroſs* his Majeſties

'Affection, and to make him intirely give Faith 'and Credence to what they ſhould ſay, though ne-'ver ſo pernicious to himſelf and his Realm, and to 'hate his Loyal Lords and People, by whom he 'would *more faithfully* have been ſerved; Encroa-'ching and aſſuming to themſelves a power to the 'endefranchiſing our Lord the King of his *Sove-'veraignty*, and impairing his Royal Prerogative 'and Dignity, making him ſo far obey them, that 'he hath been *ſworn to be Govern'd and Counſel'd only 'by them*; by means of which *Oath*, and the power 'they have ſo trayterouſly uſurped, great incon-'veniences, miſcheifs, and deſtructions, have happe-'ned, as by the ſubſequent Articles will appear.

2. '*Item*, Whereas the King is not bound to make 'any *Oath* to any of his ſubjects, but on the day of 'his *Coronation*, or for the *Common profit* of him and 'his Realm, the ſaid Biſhop, Duke, and Earl, falſe 'Traytors to the King and Realm, have made him '*ſwear and aſſent* to them, that he will *maintain and 'defend them*, and *live and dye with them*. And ſo 'whereas the King ought to be of a *free* condition 'above any other in his Realm, they have brought 'him more into *ſervitude* and *Bondage*, againſt his 'Honour, Eſtate, and Royalty, contrary to their 'Allegiance and as Traytors unto him.

3. '*Item*, The ſaid Traytors by the Aſſent and 'Council of *Robert Treſylian* the falſe Juſtice, and '*Nicholas Brember* the falſe Knight of *London*, by 'their falſe Covin would not at all ſuffer the great 'Perſons of the Realm, nor the good Subjects of 'the King, to *ſpeak to*, or approach the King, to 'give him wholſome *advice*, nor the King to ſpeak 'to them, unleſs in the *preſence* and hearing of them

'the

'the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, *&c.* or two of them, 'at their will and pleaſure, or about ſuch things as 'they thought fit, to the great *diſgrace* of the No- 'bles and good Councellors of the King, and to the 'preventing of their good will, and *ſervice* towards 'the King, thereby Encroaching to themſelves the 'Royal power, and a Lordſhip, and Soveraignty o- 'ver the perſon of the King, to the great *diſhonour* 'and peril of the King, his Crown and Realm.

4. '*Item*, The ſaid Archbiſhop, *&c.* by ſuch their 'falſe devices and *pernicious Councels*, have diverted 'the *King* from ſhewing *due countenance* to his great 'Lords and Leige People, ſo that they could not 'be *anſwered* in their Suits and Rights, without the '*leave* of them the ſaid Archbiſhop, *&c.* Thereby 'putting the King beſides his *Devoir*, contrary to 'his *Oath*, contriving to *alienate* the Heart of our 'Lord the King from his *People*, that they might 'engroſs amongſt themſelves only the Government 'of the Realm; whereby they have cauſed our 'Lord the King, without the Aſſent of the Realm, 'or any *deſert* in them, to have given away by their 'Abetment many Lordſhips, Caſtles, Towns, 'and Mannors, as well annexed to his Crown, as 'others: As particularly the Land of *Ireland* and '*Okam*, with the Foreſt and Lands which did be- 'long to the Lord *Dandelegh*, and great quanti- 'ties of other Lands to the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, 'and divers others, whereby they unworthily are '*vaſtly inriched*, but the King rendred *poor*, and '*unable to ſuſtain and defray the Charges of the Go- 'vernment*, unleſs by *Impoſitions*, heavy *Taxes* 'and *Tributes* laid upon his People, to the diſin- 'heriſon of his Crown, and the deſtruction of the 'Realm.

5. 'Item, By ſuch Encroachment of the ſaid 'Archbiſhop, &c. and by the *Counſel* of that falſe 'Juſticer *Treſylian* and *Brember* the falſe Knight 'of *London*, they have cauſed our Lord the King 'to have *given away* divers Mannors, Lands, Te-'nements, Offices, and Bailywicks, to divers other 'perſons their *Creatures*, and ſuch as they could 'confide in, and to others of whom they have ta-'ken great *Gifts* by way of *Brokage* for that pur-'poſe, and to ſtand by them in their falſe *Suits* 'and ill purpoſes, to the great prejudice of the 'King and Realm, ſuch as Sir *Robert Manſel* Clerk, '*John Blake*, *Thomas Uſk*, and divers others.

6. 'Item, The ſaid Duke, &c. Encroaching to 'themſelves the Royal Power, have cauſed the 'King to give very great *Gifts of Gold and Silver*, 'as well of his *proper Goods* and *Jewels*, as of the 'Goods and *Treaſure* of the *Realm*; as *Tenths*, *Fif-'teens*, and other *Taxes*, granted by divers *Parlia-'ments*, to be expended for the defence and ſafe-'guard of the Kingdom, which yet to the value 'of *One hundred thouſand Marks* have been *laviſht* 'away upon the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, and others. 'And though many good *Ordinances* and *Laws* 'have been made in *Parliament*, as well for main-'taining and carrying on of *Wars*, as for the *de-'fence of the Realm*; yet they have been by them 'diſturbed and *defeated*, to the great diſhonour and 'damage of the King and Realm.

7. 'Item, By ſuch Encroachment, and the 'great *Gifts* and *Brokages* taken by the ſaid Duke 'of *Ireland*, &c. it came to paſs that divers *unfit* and 'inſufficient perſons were preferred to, and intruſted 'with

'with the Keeping and Government of divers *Garisons*, *Caſtles*, and *Countries* involved in *War*, as in 'Guyen and elſewhere, both beyond and on this 'ſide the Sea, whereby the ſaid *Strong-holds* have 'been loſt, the Countries waſted, and the People, 'faithful Subjects to the King, deſtroyed, and great '*Seigniories* newly rendred into the hands and 'poſſeſſions of *Enemies*, without the *Aſſent of the* 'Realm, as the *Marches* of *Scotland*, &c. to the 'Diſinheriſon of the Kings Crown, and the great 'loſs of the Kingdom, as in *Harpeden* and *Cradock*, and divers others.

8. 'By the ſame means, the ſaid Archbiſhop and 'his *Fellow-Traytors*, have cauſed divers people to 'be diſturbed and deprived of *Right*, and the '*Common Law* of *England*, and put to intollerable '*delays*, *loſſes* and *coſts*, and the *Statutes* and *Judgments* which rightfully for neceſſary Cauſes have 'been made and given in *Parliament*, have been '*reverſed* and *annull'd* by the procurement of the 'ſaid *Malefactors* and *Traytors*; and all this be'cauſe of the great *Gifts* and *Brokages* by them re'ceived of *Parties*, to the grand miſchief of the 'King and Realm.

9. '*Item*, The ſaid Archbiſhop and other Tray'tors have *cauſed* and *counſelled* our Lord the King, 'to grant *Charters* of *Pardon* of horrible Felonies 'and *Treaſons*, as wellagainſt the *State* of the *King*, 'as of the Perſon injured and proſecuting; which 'thing is againſt the King, and the *Oath of the* '*King*.

10. '*Item*, Whereas the ſaid *Seignories* of the 'Land of *Ireland* are, and time out of mind have 'been parcel of the *Crown of England*, and the

'People

'People of *Ireland*, *Leige Subjects* to our Lord the 'King, and his Royal Progenitors Kings of *Eng.* 'land, who in all their *Charters*, *Writs*, *Letters* 'Patents, and in their Seals, have for the Aug. 'mentation of their Renown and Royalty been In. 'tituled *Lords of Ireland*; yet the ſaid Archbi. 'ſhop, &c. as falſe Traytors, by their ſaid En. 'croachment, have cauſed and counſelled our Lord 'the King as much as in him lies, to have granted 'and fully aſſented and accorded, that the ſaid *Ro.* 'bert de Vere Duke of *Ireland*, ſhould be made 'King of Ireland: And to compleat ſuch their ill 'purpoſe, have adviſed and excited our ſaid Lord 'the *King* to ſend his *Letters* to our Holy Father 'the *Pope*, to *grant*, *ratifie*, and *confirm* this their 'traytorous *Deſign*, without the *privity*, or *aſſent* 'of His *Realm of England*, and of the ſaid *Land of* 'Ireland, to the dividing the Leigiance of the 'King between His *Realm of England*, and the 'ſaid *Land of Ireland*; in *diminution of his Maje.* 'ſties honourable Stile, and open *diſinheriſon of the* 'Crown of England, and full *deſtruction of the law.* 'ful Leige Subjects of our Lord the King, and of the 'ſaid Land of Ireland.

11. 'Item, Whereas by the **Great Charter**, 'and other good *Laws* and *Uſages* of the *Realm of* 'England, No man is to be *taken*, nor any *Pri.* 'ſoner put to death without the due proceſs of Law; 'The ſaid *Nicholas Brember* the *falſe Knight of* 'London, did take *by Night*, certain Priſoners, to 'the number of 22, out of the Gaol of *New.* 'gate, ſome of them being *Indicted* and *Appealed* 'of Felony, and ſome *Approvers* in *caſes of Felony*, 'and ſome on *ſuſpicion of Felony*, and carried them

'out

'out of *London* into *Kent*, to a place called *Foul-*
'*hoke*; and there encroaching on the *Royal Power*,
'and in *defiance* of the ſaid *Laws*, as a *Traytor* to the
'*King*, did without any *Proceſs of Law* cauſe them
'all to be *Beheaded*, except one who was *Appealed*
'of *Felony*, by an Approver, whom he ſet at large
'the ſame time.

12. '*Item*, The aforeſaid *Archbiſhop* and other
'*Traytors* have in ſmall Cauſes taken *great Gifts* in
'the *Name of the King*, of divers Parties, to *main-*
'*tain* and *abet* them in their *Suits* and *Quarrels*,
'and ſometimes have play'd the *Ambo-dexters*, and
'taken Money of both ſides.

13. '*Item*, Whereas divers of the great Lords,
'Loyal Subjects to the King, in divers *Parliaments*,
'ſeeing the dangers, and apprehending the *de-*
'*ſtruction* threatning the *King* and *Realm*, by
'means of the Miſchiefs of theſe Malefactors, have
'*moved* to have good Governance under the *King*,
'to avoid the ſaid Perils: The forenamed *Arch-*
'*biſhop* and other *Traytors* by their Encroach-
'ment and fatal Influences have ſo ordered Mat-
'ters, that the *King* has not only been *deaf* to
'to all ſuch Perſwaſions, but alſo has *Commanded*
'*ſome of thoſe that moved it, to depart from his Coun-*
'*cil, and to ſpeak no more of ſuch Matters*; Nor
'*touching the good Governance of the King and King-*
'*dom, on pain of Death*, to the great prejudice of
'the King and Kingdom.

14. '*Item*, Whereas in the *laſt Parliament*, all
'the *Lords* and other *Sages* there Aſſembled, ſee-
'ing the *loſs* and *deſtruction* of the *King* and *Realm*,
'and the *perils* and *miſchiefs* aforeſaid: and that
'the *King* was *departed from the Council of the Realm*,

'and

'and wholly *abandon'd himself to the Counsels of the* 'said *Malefactors and Traytors*: By means where-'of the *French King* had Ships, and a Royal Power 'on the *Sea*, ready to have arrived in *England*; 'and the said *Realm*, and the very *Language of* 'England *to destroy*: And yet no Provision was 'made, or good Governance taken for the *safety* 'of the *King*, nor of the *Realm*. Finding no other 'Remedy, did *Remonstrate* to the *King* very fully, 'how he was *Ill-advised*, and Affairs most *pernici-'ously* manag'd by the aforesaid *Traytors* and *Male-'factors*, declaring to him their *wicked Conditions*; 'and most humbly beseeching him for the safety of 'himself, and of all his Realm, and avoiding the said 'impending dangers, to *forsake* and turn these *Tray-'tors* from his *Presence* and *Company*, and no lon-'ger to conduct himself after their *evil Counsel*; but 'to hearken to the *sage loyal and discreet persons* of 'his Realm: Whereupon the said *Archbishop* and 'other *Traytors*, to defeat this wholsom *Advice* of 'the *Parliament*, by their false *Counsel* did then 'cause the King to Command the *Mayor of Lon-'don* suddenly to levy a great *Power of the People* 'of that City, to *attaque* and *put to death* all the said 'Lords and *Commons*, except such as were of their 'Cabal: At the *Execution* of which *Villany*, the 'said *great Malefactors* and *Traytors* should be *pre-'sent and Parties*, to the *scandal* and great *disser-'vice* of the *King* and his *Realm*.

15. 'Item, When the said *Archbishop* and other 'Traytors perceived that the said *Mayor* and *good* 'People of London, had openly refused in the pre-'sence of the *King*, to accomplish such their *Trea-'chery* and *lewd purposes*, touching the *Murder* of

'the

'the said *Lords* and *Commons*: They then by such 'their *trayterous Encroachment* falsly Advised the 'King, and so far prevailed, that our *Lord the* 'King did *absent himself* from *his Parliament* for ma- 'ny days, and did certifie them, *That he would never* 'Approach the said Parliament, nor Commune with the 'said Lords and Commons touching the Affairs of the 'Realm, for any danger, loss, or mischief that might 'happen to him or his Realm, unless he were first assured 'by the said Lords and Commons, that they would 'not say nor act any thing in that Parliament, against 'any of the said Malefactors, save only in the Process 'which was began against Michael de la Pole: All 'which was to the great disservice of the King 'and of his Realm, and contrary to the **Ancient 'Ordinance and Liberties of Parlia- 'ment.**

16. 'Item, The said *Lords and Commons* of the 'Realm, after they found the *Kings Will* by the 'malignant Counsel and *Excitement* of the said *Arch-* 'Bishop and other *Traytors* to be such, that he 'would not suffer any thing to be commenced, 'prosecuted, or done *against the said Malefactors,* 'and *Traytors*; were pleased to Acquiesce, and 'not proceed therein any further against his plea- 'sure. And afterwards in the said *Parliament*, ta- 'king the Advice and Counsel of all the *Lords,* 'Judges, and other *sage Commons* of the said *Parlia-* 'ment, how the Estate of the *King* and his *Royal-* 'ty, might best be preserved from the Perils and 'Mischiefs aforesaid, could not find any *apter Ex-* 'pedient, than to ordain, that *Twelve of the Loyal* 'and *sage Lords of the Land*, should be of *Council*

'to

'to the *King* for *one year* then next enſuing: And 'that there ſhould be made during that time, a 'Statute and *Commiſſion*, whereby they ſhould 'have full and ſufficient *Power* to order *Matters* 'for the *Government* of the *King* and of the *Realm*, 'and what appertained to the *King*, as well on 'this ſide as beyond the Seas; And to *repel*, *re-* 'pair, and *redreſs* what ever ſhould have been 'ill done againſt the *Eſtate*, *Honour*, and *Profit* of 'the *King* and *Kingdom*, and to do divers other 'things neceſſary for the *King and Realm*, as in 'the *Commiſſion* thereupon iſſued, and remaining 'of Record in *Chancery*, is contained. And that 'no perſon ſhould preſume to *Counſel the King*, or 'any way *move* him againſt the ſaid *Ordinance* and 'Statute, on pain of *forfeiting* for the *firſt Offence*, 'all their *Goods and Chattels*, and pain of *Death* 'for the *ſecond*: ſuch *Expedient* and *Ordinance* to 'be made, *if it would ſo pleaſe the King*, and not 'otherwiſe. To which *Ordinance* or *Statute*, all 'the *Judges* of the *Land* agreed, and gave their Con- 'ſent unto, and Advice for the ſame, as well in 'preſence of the King, as *of the Lords*. And alſo, *our* 'Lord the King did fully give his Aſſent to the ſame; 'and thereupon the ſaid *Ordinance*, *Statute*, and 'Commiſſion, were *made and accorded unto by the* 'Aſſent of the King, and of the ſaid *Lords and* 'Judges, and other *Sages and Commons* Aſſembled 'in that *Parliament*, for the *Safety of the King*, *his* 'Royalty and Realm. And yet after the *end of the* 'ſaid Parliament, the aforeſaid *Traytors* and *Ma-* 'lefactors by ſuch their *evil Encroachments*, falſly 'and trayterouſly did inform the King, *That the* 'ſaid Ordination, *Statute*, *and Commiſſion were* 'made

'made in Derogation of his Royalty; and that all 'thoſe who procured or adviſed the making thereof, or 'counſelled the King to aſſent thereunto, were wor-'thy of Death as Traytors to the King.

17. 'Item, That after this the ſaid Traytors, 'the Archbiſhop, &c. cauſed the King to Aſſem-'ble a Council of certain of the Lord-Juſtices and 'others, without the Aſſent or Preſence of the 'ſaid Lords of the great Council, to whom they 'made many Demands, and very much ſuſpicious, 'touching divers Matters, whereby the King, the 'Lords, and the Common-people have been involved 'in moſt grievous trouble, the whole Realm diſ-'quieted, and the Hearts of many withdrawn from 'the King, ſaving their Allegiance.

18. 'Item, To accompliſh their ſaid High-Trea-'ſons, the ſaid Traytors, the Archbiſhop, &c. cau-'ſed the King to go with ſome of them through-'out the midſt of his Realm, and to make the 'Lords, Knights, Eſquires, and other good people, 'as well in Cities and Boronghs, as in other Pla-'ces, to come before him, and there to become 'bound, ſome by Obligations, others by their Oaths, 'to our ſaid Lord the King, to be with him a-'gainſt all people, and to accompliſh the purpoſe 'of the King, which at that time was to accompliſh 'the will and purpoſes of the ſaid Malefactors and 'Traytors, drawn in thereunto by their falſe Con-'trivances, Flatteries, and Deceits: Which Se-'curities and Oaths were made againſt the good 'Laws and Uſages of the Land, and contrary to 'the Oath of the King, to the great diſhonour of 'the King and Kingdom; By means of which Oaths 'ſo inforced, the whole Realm was Embroil'd in

'great

'great Murmurs and trouble by the ſaid *Traytors*, 'and in danger to have ſuffered divers *important* '*Miſchiefs*.

19. '*Item*, To inforce their Purpoſes, the ſaid '*Traytors* cauſed the King to *abſent himſelf* in the '*furtheſt parts* of this *Realm*, to the intent that 'the *Lords* appointed by the ſaid *Ordination*, *Sta*-'*tute*, and *Commiſſion* might not *Confer* and *Adviſe* 'with Him touching the *Affairs* of the Realm: 'To the interruption and hindrance of the pur-'port and effect of the ſaid *Statute* and *Commiſſion*, 'and great prejudice of the King and Realm.

'20. '*Item*, The ſaid *Malefactors* and *Traytors*, 'after they had *Eſtranged* both the *Perſon* and *good* '*will* of the King, from the ſaid *Lords* ſo Commiſ-'ſioned, and that he eſteem'd them *Traytors* and '*Enemies*; and that they had obtain'd the Opinions 'of the *Judges* ſuited to their *wicked purpoſes*, did 'agree and deſign, That ſeveral of the ſaid *Lords*, 'and alſo divers *Loyal Commons*, ſhould be firſt *Ar*-'*reſted* and then *Indicted* in *London* and in *Middle*-'*ſex*, and by *falſe Inqueſts Attainted of certain* '*Treaſons falſly imagined againſt them, and ſo put to* '*ſhameful Death*: To which purpoſe they had 'procured an evil and falſe Perſon of their Conſpi-'racy, called *Thomas Uſk* to be *Under-Sheriff*, by 'whoſe means the ſaid *falſe Inqueſts* were to be 'taken, and the wicked Deſign accompliſhed by 'colour of Law. And for the more compleat ef-'fecting thereof, they cauſed the King to ſend his '*Letters of Credence* by *John Rypon* a falſe Clerk, 'and one of their Crew, directed to the *Mayor* of '*London*, That he ſhould *ſeize* the ſaid *Duke* of '*Glouceſter*, and others therein named, to be *In*-

'*dicted*

'*dicted* for certain *Treaſons*, in ſuch manner as the 'ſaid *Nicholas Brember* the falſe Knight, and *John* '*Blake*, who were thereof fully *informed*, ſhould 'direct: By vertue of which *Letters of Credence*, '*Brember* and *Blake* carried to the *Mayor* the ſaid '*falſe Indictment*, Commanding him on behalf of 'the King, that to his power he ſhould promote 'the ſame: And alſo they ordered, that a *ſtrong* '*Watch* ſhould be ſet, to *ſeize* my Lord Duke of '*Lancaſter* upon his firſt Arrival.

21. '*Item*, The ſaid *Traytors* having *trayterouſly* 'informed the King, that he ſhould believe that 'the ſaid *Ordination*, *Statute* and *Commiſſion*, were 'made in *derogation* of his *Royalty* and *Prerogative*; 'did further perſwade him, that the ſame was 'made with an intention to *degrade*, and finally to '*depoſe* our *Lord the King*: And perceiving that 'thereby he lookt upon his *Loyal Lords* as *Tray-* '*tors* and *Enemies*; They yet further adviſed Him, 'that by all means poſſible, as well by the *power* of 'his own *Leige people*, as by the *force* of his *Ene-* '*mies*, the *French* and others, he ſhould deſtroy 'and put to death the ſaid *Lords* and others, that 'aſſented to the making of the ſaid *Ordinance*, and 'that the ſame might be done ſo *privily* that none 'ſhould know of it till it was done.

22. '*Item*, In order to theſe *Treaſons*, by their '*Counſels* they cauſed the King to ſend *Letters* to his 'Enemy the *French King*, ſome by *Nicholas South-* '*well* Groom of his Chamber, and others, by other 'perſons of *baſe condition*, as well *Aliens* as *Deni-* '*zons*, requiring and praying the ſaid *French King*, 'that he would with all his *Power* and *Counſel*, *Aid* 'and *Aſſiſt our Lord the King*, to deſtroy and put

'to *Death* the ſaid *Lords* and *others*, whom they 'had ſo falſly repreſented as *Traytors*, to the 'great *Diſturbance of the whole Realm.*

23. '*Item*, That uſurping to themſelves *Royal* '*Power*, they cauſed the *King* to promiſe the '*French King* by his *Letters Patents* and *Meſſages*, 'for ſuch his *Aſſiſtance*, to accompliſh the ſaid '*Treaſon* and *Murder*, to *give* and *ſurrender* to the 'ſaid *French King*, the *Town and Caſtle of Calice*, 'and divers other *Forts* and *Places*; as *Breſt*, *Chir-* '*burgh*, and others, *&c.* to the great *diſhonour*, '*trouble*, and *prejudice of the Realm.*

24. '*Item*, That after this *trayterous Contrivance*, 'it was agreed between our *Lord the King*, and 'the *French King*, by the *inſtigation* and *influence* 'of theſe *Traytors*, that a *Parley* or *Interview* ſhould 'be had in the *Marches* of *Calice*, and a Truce of five 'years between the *Realms of England and France*: 'At which *Interview*, by *Treachery*, the ſaid *Lords* 'and *others* whom the *King* took for *Traytors*, at- 'tending him thither, ſhould there by *Treachery* 'be *ſlain*. In order to which they procured ſe- 'veral *Letters of ſafe Conduct* from the ſaid *French* '*King*, for the ſaid '*Duke* of *Ireland*'s going into '*France*, to accompliſh this *ill purpoſe* and *Treaſon*, 'which *Letters* are ready to be *ſhewn.*

25. '*Item*, That the ſaid *Brember* by the *Aſ-* 'ſent and *counſel* of the ſaid other *Traytors*, did 'come into *London*, and without the *Aſſent* or '*knowledge* of the *King*, did cauſe all the *Companies* 'of the City to be *ſworn*, to *hold* and *perform* di- 'vers *Matters*, as they are contained in the ſaid 'Oath, which is of *Record* in *Chancery*: And a- 'mongſt other things, That they ſhould hold with

'and

'and maintain the *Will and purpoſe of the King* to 'their *power*, againſt all that are or ſhall be *Re-* 'bels, or contrary to his *Perſon, or Royal pleaſure:* 'And that they ſhould be ready to *deſtroy* all *thoſe* 'which do or ſhall purpoſe *Treaſon* againſt our 'ſaid *Lord the King*, in any manner; and be rea- 'dy with their *Mayor* to reſiſt *during life*, all ſuch '*Traytors*, &c. At which time the King, by the '*Miſ-information* of the ſaid *Evil-doers* and *Tray-* 'tors, and by the falſe *Anſwers* of the *Juſtices*, did 'firmly hold the ſaid *Lords* and *others*, who *aſſented* 'to the making of the ſaid *Ordinances*, *Statute*, 'and *Commiſſion*, to be *Rebels*, *Traytors*, and *Ene-* 'mies unto him: By all which, the ſaid *Traytors* 'endeavoured to ſtir up the ſaid *People of Lon-* 'don, to deſtroy the ſaid *Lords and other loyal* 'Subjects.

26. 'Item, The ſaid *Brember* and other *Tray-* 'tors to the King and Realm, uſurping to themſelves 'Royal Power, Did of their own *Authority*, with- 'out any *Warrant* from the *King* or his *great Coun-* 'cil, cauſe *Proclamation* to be made through the 'City of *London*, That none of the Leige Subjects 'of our Lord the King, ſhould Suſtain, Comfort, or 'Aid, Richard *Earl of* Arundel, *and* Surrey, (one 'of the Lords of the Kings Great Council, during the 'ſaid Commiſſion;) nor ſell him any Armour, Vi- 'ctuals, or other Neceſſaries, on pain of being pro- 'ceeded againſt as Rebels, carrying about and ſhew- 'ing a Patent of the Kings, but of another Te- 'nor; the better to compaſs ſuch their falſe 'Proclamation.

27. 'Item, They alſo cauſed it to be *Cryed* and 'Proclaimed in the ſaid City of *London*, That no

'*perſon ſhould be ſo hardy as to preſume to ſpeak any* 'ill, *or utter any word or expreſſion againſt them the* 'ſaid *Malefactors and Traytors, or any of them, on* 'pain *of forfeiting all they had*; Which was an En-'croachment on the Royal Power.

28. '*Item*, The ſaid *Archbiſhop*, *Chief Juſtice*, 'and other *Traytors*, cauſed the *King* to command 'his *Council* to make certain perſons throughout '*England* Sheriffs, who were named [or recom-'mended] to him by them the ſaid *Traytors*, with 'an intent to *get ſuch perſons as they ſhould name Re-'turned for Knights of the Shire to ſerve in Parlia-'ment*; And to keep out from thence Gentle-'men *good and loyal*, againſt the good *Laws* and '*Cuſtoms* of the *Land*.

29. '*Item*, The ſaid *Traytors* during the time 'that the King had ſo taken both Parties into His '*Protection* as aforeſaid, did falſly Counſel and 'prevail with the *King* to command by His *Let-'ters* divers *Knights* and *Squires*, *Sheriffs*, and o-'ther *Miniſters* of ſeveral Counties, to *Levy Men* ' *and Aſſemble all their Power to joyn with the ſaid* 'Duke *of* Ireland, *againſt the ſaid three Lords now* ' *Appelling*, *ſuddenly to make War upon and deſtroy* 'them.

30. '*Item*, During the time of the ſame *Pro-'tection*, they cauſed the *King* by His *Royal Let-'ters*, to ſignifie to the ſaid *Duke* of *Ireland*, Not 'only, that he and others were *Appelled* of *Treaſon* 'as aforeſaid; But alſo that he ſhould have ſuffi-'cient *Power to Guard him*, *and come with him to* 'the *King*. And afterwards cauſed Him to write 'again to the ſaid *Duke* of *Ireland*, That he ſhould '*take the Field with all the Forces he could Aſſemble*;

'*And*

'*And that the King would meet him with all his* '*Troops, and would expoſe and venture his Royal* '*Perſon: And that the King was in great peril for* '*Himſelf and his Realm, unleſs ſuccor'd and aided* '*by the ſaid Duke: And that the ſaid Duke ſhould* '*ſhew and declare to all the people aſſembled with* '*him, That the King would bear and pay all Debts and* '*Coſts of the ſaid Duke of* Ireland, *and all that joyn'd* '*with him.* By vertue of which *Letters*, and the 'evil and trayterous *Inſtigation* as well of the ſaid '*Duke*, as of his *Adherents* and other *Traytors*, 'The ſaid *Duke* of *Ireland* did actually *Levy* and '*Aſſemble great numbers of Men at Arms, and Ar-* '*chers*, as well of the Counties of *Lancaſter*, *Che-* '*ſhire*, and *Wales*, as of other places of the *Realm*, 'in Warlike manner, *to deſtroy and put to death the* '*ſaid Lords*, who had conſented to the making the 'ſaid *Ordinance*, *Act of Parliament*, *and Commiſ-* '*ſion*, in *Defence of the King and Realm.*

31. '*Item*, That having thus *trayterouſly Le-* '*vied Forces*, the ſaid *Duke marched* with them 'through the midſt of *England*, and uſurping the '*Royal Power*, did cauſe the *Kings Banner* to be '*Diſplayed* before him, contrary to the Eſtate of 'the *King*, and of his *Crown.* In which *March* 'the ſaid *Duke* and his *Accomplices* were by the '*Grace of God* diſturbed and prevented from their '*evil purpoſes.*

32. '*Item*, That the ſaid *Duke* of *Ireland*, by 'the Counſel and Abetment of the reſt of the 'forenamed *Traytors*, encroaching to himſelf the '*Royal Power*, without the uſual *Commiſſion of the* '*King*, or other *ſufficient Warrant*, Did make 'himſelf *Juſtice of Cheſter*, by Him and his *Depu-*

'ties, to hold there all manner of *Pleas of the* 'Crown, and thereupon to give *Judgment* and *A*-'ward *Execution:* And alſo cauſed divers *Original* 'and *Judicial Writs*, to be ſealed with the *Great* 'Seal of the *King* in that behalf uſed: And there-'by compell'd a great part of the People of thoſe 'Counties to joyn with him, or otherwiſe put 'ſome of them to grievous and tormenting Death, 'Impriſoned others, and Seized the Lands of o-'thers, *&c.* And all this to make *War* and deſtroy 'the ſaid Lords, and other Loyal Subjects of the 'King, and againſt the *Defence* of the *Realm.*

33. 'Item, That the ſaid *Traytors* have cauſed 'the *King* to Grant great *Retinues* to divers people, 'and give them *Badges* and *Enſigns* otherwiſe than 'ever was uſed in the time of any of his *Progeni*-'tors; and *this* with deſign to gain greater power 'to accompliſh their *Treaſons.*

34. 'Item, Fully to compleat all ſuch their be-'fore-mentioned and other *Treaſons*, and to make 'the *King* wholly confide in, and relie upon them 'and their *Councels*, they cauſed the *King* to call 'before him divers *Juſtices* and *People of the Law*; 'that is to ſay, *Robert Treſylian*, *Robert Belknap*, 'John Care, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, *William* 'Burgh, ſix Juſtices, *John Lockton* Serjeant at 'Law, and *John Blake:* Of whom he did by the 'contrivance of the ſaid *Traytors* demand, Whether 'the before-mentioned *Act* of *Parliament* and 'Commiſſion were made in *derogation* of his *Royalty* 'and *Prerogative*, or not? and ſeveral other Que-'ſtions; to which they *Anſwered* in manner and 'form before ſet forth, *&c.*

These were the Articles Exhibited, but the Prime *Delinquents*, as the *Duke* of *Ireland*, the *Archbiſhop* of *York*, and the *Earl* of *Suffolk*, were fled, and the reſt *abſconded*: The Chief Juſtice *Treſylian* having *diſguis'd* himſelf, lay hid at an *Apothecaries* Houſe near the Gate going into the *Old Palace* at *Weſtminſter*. But on *Wedneſday* the 11th *Calends* of *March*, beng diſcovered by his Servant, he was taken and brought by the *Duke* of *Gloceſter* to the *Parliament*, who immediately Awarded Execution againſt him, ſo that he was the ſame day *drawn from the* Tower *through the midſt of the* City *of* London *to* Tyburn, *and there hang'd*: That *Judgment* having formerly been paſs'd upon him when ever he could be found in the ſame *Parliament*. The very next day they met with Sir *Nicholas Brember*, whom the King had often before preferred to be *Mayor* of *London*, *againſt the will of the Citizens*, and who had been the occaſion of many Oppreſſions and Seditions in that City: It was reported of him, that whilſt he was in power, he had cauſed a *common Hatchet* to be made, wherewith to cut off the Heads of all that oppoſed his Exorbitant doings, and cauſed a *Liſt* to be made of a vaſt number of the *Citizens Names* whom he deſigned for *deſtruction*, of whom he had procured *Eight thouſand five hundred and upwards*, *to be already Indicted*; But was now before he could bring to paſs ſuch his malicious bloody purpoſe, Himſelf *Beheaded with the very ſame Inſtrument*. The *King* interceding for him with the *Parliament*, that he might not be *Hang'd*. This *Gentleman* if he had lived was to have been made *Duke of Troy*, mean-

ing thereby *London*, which anciently was ſaid to have ſometimes been called by that Name.

Shortly after *Uske* the *under Sheriff* of *London*, and the before-mentioned *John Blake* the *Lawyer*, were likewiſe drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, and there Hang'd and Beheaded, and the Head of the ſaid *Uske* placed upon *Newgate*.

In the beginning of *May*, Sir *Simon de Burlee* was Condemned for *High Treaſon*, but the *King* diſpenſing with his *Drawing* and *Hanging*, he was *Beheaded* on *Tower-Hill*. This Perſon by his ill Practiſes had in few years increas'd his ſmall *Patrimony* of 20 *Marks*, to an Eſtate of above *Three thouſand Marks per annum*, and was grown to that exceſs of Pride, that at a *Chriſtmas* he would give *Liveries* to a great number of Knights and Squires of the Court, and others, beſtowing therein ſometimes an hundred and forty, or an hundred and ſixty, nay ſometimes two hundred and twenty *Broad Cloths*, and theſe of great Price; as being Embroidered with Gold, and ſome of *Scarlet*.

About the ſame time Sir *John Beauchamp* was Condemned to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd, but by the *Kings Mercy*, he had only his Head ſever'd from his Body on *Tower-Hill*. The ſame Puniſhment was inflicted on Sir *John Berneys*, a Knight belonging to the Court, Condemned for *Treaſon* and *Sedition*; but Sir *John Salisbury* was drawn from the *Tower*, and *Hang'd* at *Tyburn*.

And now the *Judges* are brought to *Judgment*, which in the beginning of the *Parliament* were taken into Cuſtody; *viz.* Sir *Robert Belknappe*, Sir *John Care*, Sir *John Holte*, Sir *Roger de Fulthorp*, Sir *William de Burgh*, and *John Lokton* Serjeant at Law,

Law, who were all condemn'd, to be *Drawn, Hang'd*, and *Quarter'd*: But by the *Mediation* of the *Queen*, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Biſhops, the King by the conſent of the Lords, againſt whom they had offended, pardon'd the *Sentence of Death*: But they were Out-law'd and *Baniſht* for ever into *Ireland*, Two and two to be kept in a place, limited within certain Bounds, which if they ſhould preſume to go out of, they were immediately to be *Executed on their former Judgment*. And for their *Maintenance* were allowed out of the *Kings Exchequer*, as follows; *viz.* To *Fulthorp* 40 *l. per annum*, to *Burgh* 40 *Marks*, to *Belknappe* 30 *l.* to *Holt* 40 *Marks*, and to *Care* and *Locton* 20 *l. per annum* a-piece.

This being done, a *General Pardon* is paſs'd for all *Treaſons* and *Seditions* whatſoever, and an *Oath* (ſaith *Walſingham*) exacted not only of all the *Inhabitants* of the *Land*, but of the *King too*, to ſtand to the *Regulation* of the *Lords*, (meaning, as I conceive, *Thoſe* ſo *Commiſſion'd* and *Authorized* for one years ſpace by *King* and *Parliament* as aforeſaid:) And then the *Parliament* broke up in the Month of *July*.

After *Whitſontide* the Earl of *Arundel* again puts to Sea, and *burns, ſinks, and takes Fourſcore French Ships*; And likewiſe Seizes the *Iſles of Ree* and *Oleroon* (the latter famous for the *Laws Marine*, there ſaid to be Compos'd and agreed upon) with the City of *Rochel* and divers other places. About the ſame time the *Scots* entred *England* as far as *New-caſtle*, in which young *Peircy*, Son of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and for his Valour and Fury in Arms, Surnamed *Hot-ſpur*, being then

then Ingarriſon'd, he with a ſmall Party fought with them, and with his own *Hand* ſlew *W. Douglaſs* their Commander in Chief; but being at laſt over-power'd by the coming in of the Earl of *Dunbar*, was himſelf taken *Priſoner*, though at the ſame time he *ſet free his Country*: For he had firſt ſo weakned them by the *deſtruction of their Men*, that they durſt not ſtay longer; but in haſt and *Diſorder* retreated into *Scotland*.

After *Harveſt* a *Parliament* was again held at *Cambridge*, in which many *wholſom Laws* paſs'd; As againſt *Beggars*, *Riding Arm'd*, *giving Liveries to exceſſive Retinues*: Touching *Labourers*, and *Apparel* ſuitable to peoples *Ranks*: And eſpecially, *That none ſhould go out of the Realm to the Pope to procure the Grant of any Benefices in* England *without the Kings leave*, *on penalty of being put out of the Kings Protection*. Alſo a *Tax* was granted to the *King*, being a *Tenth of the Clergy*, and a *Fifteenth of the Laity*.

In the Year 1389, a grievous *Diſcord* happen'd at *Oxford* between the *Welſh* and the *Northern Scholars*, wherein ſeveral were ſlain, and further miſchief threatned, but by the Mediation of the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, the *Broil was compoſed*, and divers of the *Welſhmen* diſmiſs'd the *Univerſity*.

In *May* the *King* held a *Great Council* at *Weſtminſter*, and on *Holy-Rood-day*, being led by the *Advice* of *certain Whiſperers*, entred ſuddenly into the *Council-Chamber*, and taking his *Seat*, Demanded, *How old they took him to be*? Being anſwered, *Somewhat upwards of One and twenty years*: Then (replyed He) *I am of full Age*, *and Capable to manage my Inheritance my ſelf*, *for ſure 'tis unjuſt*

that

that I ſhould be in a worſe condition than any other in my Kingdom, for every Heir after the death of his Anceſtor, comes to his Eſtate, and takes it into his own hands at One and twenty years of age. This the Lords perhaps might be unwilling to Grant, but more unable and afraid to deny: And therefore the King went on with his Speech; —— *'Tis well known, that for many years I have lived under your Tutelage and Governance, and for the pains therein We thank you; but now having attained to Our Legal Age, We are reſolved to be no longer in Ward, but to take into Our hands the Government of Our Realm, and to appoint ſuch Officers and Miniſters as We think fit, and remove others at Our Pleaſure.*

Accordingly he forthwith commanded the Biſhop of *York* then *Lord Chancellor*, to Reſign the *Seal*, which being done, the King put it up in his Boſom and went away, but ſoon after return'd, and gave it to *William* of *Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, making him *Lord Chancellor:* He likewiſe turn'd out the Biſhop of *Hertford* from the Office of *Treaſurer*, and put in another in his Room, and chang'd ſeveral other *chief Miniſters of State*, partly to ſhew his *Authority*, partly to ſatisfie his *Diſpleaſure*; As particularly he *ſuſpended* his *Uncle* the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, and the *Earl* of *Warwick* and others from his *Privy Council*, and admitted others in their ſtead, that *Humour'd* him more, but *Honour'd* him leſs. The *Earl* of *Arundel* likewiſe was removed from the *Admiralty of the Sea*, wherewith he had been entruſted by the *Parliament*, and the ſame given to the Earl of *Huntington*.

Soon after this, certain *Detractors* circumventing the *King*, had ſo far prevail'd, as to make him believe,

believe, That the *Duke* of *Gloceſter* was contriving ſome *Deſigns* againſt him: But upon the *Duke's* Examination, the *falſhood* and *Malice* of thoſe *Reports* did appear; And the King *Bluſht* to conſider his own *Credulity* againſt ſo *near* and *eminent* a *Relation*; yet though ſome of the *Spreaders* thereof were there preſent, when the *Duke* would have queſtion'd them for the ſame, the King charg'd him, *as he lov'd him*, not to ſtir further in the *Matter*.

This Summer the King being at his *Mannor* of *Sheen*, in *July*, on a ſudden there appeared ſuch innumerable *Swarms* of *Gnats*, that all the Air was darkned with them, who skirmiſht and fought one with another, till the *Slain* fell down in *heaps*, and being ſwept together with *Brooms*, amounted to the quantity of many *Buſhels-full*, and the reſt who ſeem'd to come off, and were reckoned about a third part of the whole, flew away; which was by many eſteem'd as an *ill boding Prodigy*.

About the ſame time the *Diſciples* of *Wickliff* (in thoſe days called *Lollards*) being very numerous, their *Presbyters* took upon them after the manner of *Biſhops*, to Confer *Holy Orders*, Aſſerting, that every Prieſt had as much Power of *Binding and Looſing*, and *Adminiſtring other Eccleſiaſtical Functions*, as the *Pope himſelf* either had, or could beſtow: And though the *Prelates* had notice hereof, yet out of *negligence*, or rather *fear*, they did not much concern themſelves to ſuppreſs them; ſave only the ſtout Biſhop of *Norwich*, who ſwore, That if any of that *Sect* ſhould preſume to Preach in his *Dioceſs*, he would either *Burn* or *Behead* them.

In *November*, the *Duke* of *Lancaſter* after three years

years abſence return'd into *England* from *Spain*, having matcht his Daughter to the King of *Caſtile*'s Son. And the King of *England* having ſummon'd a *Council* at *Reading*, the ſaid *Duke* underſtanding that his Majeſty had conceived *Diſpleaſure* againſt divers *Great Lords*, to prevent the *Miſchiefs* that might thereby ariſe, immediately after his *Arrival*, Poſted thither, by whoſe *good Offices* the King's *Reſentments* were diverted, and *Matters* for the preſent pacified.

In the Year 1390, (being the 13 year of King *Richard*'s Reign;) On *Munday* after the *Feaſt* of St. *Hillary*, a *Parliament* was called at *London*, wherein amongſt other things it was Enacted, That the *King* ſhould not extend his *Pardon* to any perſons Convicted of *Murder*, and a Penalty *Awarded* againſt any that ſhould importune the King thereunto; *viz.* That if it were a *Duke* or *Archbiſhop*, he ſhould forfeit to the King 100*l.* If an *Earl* or *Biſhop* 100 *Marks*, *&c.* There was alſo granted to the King 40*s.* of every *Sack of Wool*, of which 10*s.* to go to the Kings preſent occaſions, and the other 30*s.* to be *reſerv'd* in the hands of *Commiſſioners* appointed by *Parliament*, *Not to be expended unleſs neceſſity of War required.* About S. *Jamestyde*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, eldeſt Son to the *Duke* of *Lancaſter*, with a choice Company of a thouſand Knights and Squires, and their Servants, went into *Pruſſia*, where they ſignalized themſelves by ſeveral brave and valorous Actions, and return'd again with Honour in *April* following.

In the Year 1391, the *French* Courted King *Richard* very earneſtly to a *Treaty* of *Peace*; and in order thereunto, deſired that there might be an

Ami-

Amicable Interview of the two Kings near *Calice*: To which King *Richard* ſeem'd inclinable, and that he might appear more *ſplendid* on ſuch an occaſion, ſent to moſt of the *Abbeys* to furniſh him with the beſt *Horſes* they had: Amongſt whom the *Abbot* of S. *Albans* ſent him *One*, which (*Walſingham* tells us) was worth *Four and twenty Marks*, no ſmall price in thoſe days; and yet not content, he demanded 50 *Marks* beſides in Money: Likewiſe from moſt of the Cities and Boroughs of *England*, he got divers conſiderable Sums to Equip him for this Voyage.

But about the ſame time by order of the *King and Council*, there was a *Proclamation* ſet forth, Requiring all thoſe that had any *Benefices* in *England*, and were then beyond the Seas, as in the *Roman Court*, (it being a thing not infrequent in thoſe days for the *Pope* to gratifie his *Favourites* and *Followers* with the beſt *Preferments*; though perhaps never in *England* in their lives) immediately to repair into *England*, to live upon ſuch their *Benefices*, and not ſuck away the *Treaſure* of the *Realm*, by expending their *Revenues* in other Nations, on pain of *forfeiting* all their ſaid *Benefices*. This together with the late Statute of *Proviſors* and *Præmunire*; And the *Overture* of a *Peace* like to Advance with the *French King*, (who at that time joyned with the *Antipope*, *Benedict* the 13th) much troubled *Pope Boniface* the 9th: (For now and for near the ſpace of *Forty years* together, there were *two Popes* in being at once, each *Curſing* the other; and part of *Chriſtendom* acknowledging *One*, and part his *Adverſary*.) Therefore the ſaid *Boniface* (whom the *Engliſh* own'd for their *Ghoſtly*

Ghoſtly Father) forthwith ſent a *Nuncio* to King *Richard*, with great Complements to commend his *Devotion*, and that of his *Predeceſſors* towards *Holy Church*, but withal to complain of theſe *Invaſions* (as he was pleaſed to call them) of the *Eccleſiaſtical Liberties*; and to urge him as well to *Repeal* the ſaid *Laws*, as by no means to make *Peace* with the *French King*, unleſs he would diſown and no longer aſſiſt the *Anti-Pope*, *&c.*

The *King* received the *Nuncio* kindly, and heard his *Tale*, but for Anſwer put him off to the Meeting of the *Parliament*, which was in *November*, and then the *Buſineſs* was *bandied* about, and though the *King* and *Duke* of *Lancaſter* ſeem'd willing to gratifie the *Pope*, the *Commons* would by no means conſent that people ſhould go to *Rome* to Acquire any *Benefices* in *England*, only that they might not ſeem too much to ſlight his *Holineſs*, they yielded that it might be ſuffered, but not without the *Kings Licenſe*, and no longer than till the next *Parliament*. But though they held *their Pope* to *hard Meat*, they were not wanting in expreſſing their *kindneſs* to their *King*, giving him a *Half-Tenth*, and an *Half-Fifteenth*, which they offered to make *whole Ones*, on Condition, the *King* would next Summer make an *Expedition* againſt the *Scots*.

Anno 1392. The *Duke* of *Lancaſter* is ſent over into *France*, and moſt magnificently entertain'd by the *French King*: But inſtead of a Peace, brought back only a *Truce* for a year; to the intent ſaith *Walſingham*, That during that time, the *Collected wiſdom* of *England* might conſider whether it were more expedient to conclude a *final Peace*, or *proſecute* the *War*.

About

About this time, a certain *Matron* in *London* having one *onely Daughter*, had inſtructed her to *Celebrate* the *Maſs*, and built an *Altar* with all its Furniture in a private Room, and there for many days cauſed her to Accouter herſelf in *Prieſtly Habit*, and *Officiate*; only when ſhe came to the words of the *Sacrament*, ſhe *Proſtrated* herſelf, and durſt not *Conſecrate*; but riſing again, would go on with the reſt of the *Maſs* to the end, her Mother *helping* her and *encouraging her Devotion*. But at laſt a *Neighbouring Goſſip* whom ſhe had call'd to this *private Maſs*, diſcovering her Practice, the Biſhop of *London* heard of it, and being much grieved (as he had reaſon, to ſee his *Trade* uſurp'd by the other *Sex*) call'd her before him, and made her ſhew *her Crown ſhaven exactly like a Prieſt*, before all the people, and cauſed both her and her Mother to do *Penance*.

The *Duke* of *Guelderland*, a moſt *active Prince*, and related to King *Richard*, ſent him a *Letter* full of *great Complements*, (but in one expreſſion too *profane*) ſtirring him up to War and Military Actions becoming his Royal Dignity, and particularly dehorting him from the deſigned diſhonourable Amity with *France*: The *Tenor* whereof was as followeth.

MAgnificent Prince! Both your Innate Generoſity, and the prudent Counſels of your Miniſters will we conceive effectually provide, that all your Hereditary Rights, which by your Birth render your Royal Majeſty Great and Glorious, may by the foreſight of your deep wiſdom be preſerved Inviolable; And that if any unjuſt force does Invade or offer to

Diminiſh

Diminiſh them, your Kingly Induſtry will valiantly defend the ſame with the Shield of Military Proweſs: And ſince we have the Honour to be Related *to your Royal Perſon by Affinity,* God himſelf cannot hinder, *but that we will ever be ready to aſſiſt you in defending ſuch your Rights with* Two thouſand Launces, *when and as oft-ſoever as you ſhall be diſpoſed to engage in a War: Nor ought you to decline the ſame to your prejudice, for any Words or Promiſes that may be made you, from the reſtleſs* ſubtilty of the French. *'Tis certain, moſt Serene Prince, your* Fame *is ſpread throughout the World: Nor is it doubted, but for your great plenty of* Wool, *and innumerable other Commodities (without which neither the* Eaſt *or* South *can ſubſiſt) all Kingdoms daily ſalute you with their Treaſures; ſo that God himſelf has conferr'd upon you Wealth an hundred-fold more in compariſon, than on other Kings. Beſides the tried* Valour *of your People, and the ſharpneſs of their* Victorious Bowes, *have ſo far advanced the Fame of your Magnanimous Nation, above any of the* Weſt, *that* Terror *and* Dread *cannot but Invade your Adverſaries; For evermore to this day, as oft as the* Gallant Engliſh *have fought the* French, *ſo oft have they carried* Victory *with them from the Field. Let not therefore, moſt Potent Prince! the Heart of the* Lion *ſlumber longer againſt Nature in Puſillanimity: But voushſafe to apply that matchleſs Strength which Nature has conferr'd upon you, to warlike Actions, in defence of your* Commonwealth, *the maintenance of your Hereditary Rights, the encreaſe of your* Merit, *and perpetuating the Renown of ſo incomparably Great and Magnanimous a King.*

L *Walſingham*

Walſingham ſays, That this *Prince* came alſo in perſon into *England*, to perſwade the *King* againſt making *Peace* either with the *French* or *Scots*, and that he was very honourably entertain'd. But it ſeems his motion was not much reguarded, for the time was ſpun out in further *Truces*, and nothing done.

And now the *Citizens* of *London* fall into the *Kings* grievous diſpleaſure, the Cauſes whereof are ſaid to be *Two*: The *firſt*, Their not only *Denying* to lend the *King* a *Thouſand pounds* (which he deſired) themſelves; but alſo affronting a certain *Lombard*, who was willing to accommodate him: and abuſing him (ſome Authors ſay, they beat and half kill'd him) for his *forwardneſs*. The *other* an *Accident* which hapning juſt in the *neck* of this; ſeem'd, or perhaps was *made* a far greater Offence, than otherwiſe it need have been reputed. *Viz.*

A *Baker* carrying his Bread along the Street, one of the *Biſhop* of *Salisbury*'s Servants took a *Loaf* out of his *Basket*, which the *Baker* demanded to be reſtored, but the *Biſhop*'s man inſtead thereof broke his head; for which Injury the people would have *ſeized* him, but he fled into his Maſters houſe: Thither the *Conſtable* came and peaceably deſired he might be ſurrendred up to Juſtice. But the *Biſhop*'s Servants ſhut the Gates, and made reſiſtance. This more exaſperated the People, (who though ſometimes they may be deceived by *Fineſſes* and *Craft*, are yet generally *ſhrewd Gueſſers* at *Right* and *Wrong* in Matters of *Fact*, and *Tranſactions* of *common life*) inſomuch that many threatned to *fire* their way, and began to uſe violence.

violence. Of which the *Mayor* and *chief Officers* having notice, they immediately repaired thither, and by their *Preſence* and *Authority*, ſuppreſſed the Multitude and preſerved the Kings Peace; ſo that hitherto the harm was but *ſmall*, and all this *Combuſtion* might eaſily have been *quenched* and *forgot*, had not the *Biſhop* (whoſe *ill-govern'd* Servant was the Beginner and Cauſe of all the *Broil*) kindled the *Fuel* afreſh: And 'tis ſaid, he the rather ſtirr'd in it, out of an old *grudge* which he had againſt the *Citizens*, becauſe they were generally lookt upon to be *Favourers of Wickliffs Doctrine*. But whatever the Motive was, *a loud Complaint* was made by him and other *Prelates* to the King, affirming, That if upon every *paltry pretence* the *Citizens* ſhould be ſufferred thus to *Affront the Biſhops without Chaſtiſement*, they would endanger not only the *Dignity*, but the *Liberty* of the *whole Church*. The *King* was ſo incens'd hereat, (being prepared by former Provocations) that he was once reſolv'd to have raiſed an Army, and *utterly deſtroy'd the City, and made ſpoil thereof*. But being perſwaded by more *moderate Councils*, he only ſent for the *Mayor* and *two Sheriffs*, and *Four and twenty Aldermen*, and *Four and twenty others* of the ableſt *Citizens* to his *Court* then held at *Nottingham*, where the ſaid *Tumult* and divers other *Offences* were laid to their *Charge*; As that they had forfeited their *Obligations* formerly given to the *King*, *&c.* They at firſt reſolv'd to juſtifie their *Innocency*, and faithfully engaged to ſtand by one another: But it ſeems there was *falſhood* in *Fellowſhip*, and as it often happens in ſuch Caſes, ſome timorous per-

ſons hoping to *curry favour*, *Impeach'd the reſt*, who again recriminated upon them, and ſo *all* were liable to be undone, and therefore left themſelves wholly to the *Kings Mercy*, who committed the *Mayor* to *Windſor* Caſtle, and the reſt to ſeveral other Places of Confinement, ſeizes the *Liberties* of the *City* into his own hands, and Annuls all their *Priviledges*, Commands there ſhould be no more any *Major* be choſen, but that he would himſelf appoint one who ſhould be called *Keeper of the City*; and accordingly did qualifie one Sir *Edward Dalyngrygge*, (other Authors call him *Balerygge*) with that Title, who being thought too favourable to the *Citizens*, was quickly removed, and Sir *Baldwyn Radington* a Perſon of a rougher temper put in his place; And alſo the *Terms* and *Courts* of *Juſtice*, were removed to *York*.

In the mean time, the *Duke* of *Gloceſter* and others were not wanting to *Intercede* with the *King* on behalf of the *Londoners*, of whom the *Principal*, on *Sunday* next after the *Aſſumption* of S. *Mary*, waited on him at *Windſor*, and ſubmitted to him, *Themſelves and their Fortunes:* With which he ſeemed ſomewhat well pacified, and on the *Wedneſday* following came towards *London*, being met from the *City* with Four hundred Men on *Horſe-back*, clad all in one *Livery*, an innumerable multitude on foot, a *ſolemn Proceſſion* of the *Clergy*, and Five hundred Boys in Surplices: The Fronts of the Houſes adorned with *Tapeſtry* and *Pictures*, the Conduits freely running *Wine*, *&c.* Beſides they preſented the *King* with a *Crown of Gold* of great value, and another of the ſame *Me-*

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tal to the *Queen*; together with a *Picture* of the *Trinity* worth 800 *l.* and ſeveral other *great Gifts*: And ſo they obtained their *Priviledges* reſtored and confirmed to them, the *Election* of a *Mayor*, and all things as before: And having been at all this *Charge* doubted not but to be quiet and free from further *Fine* or *Penalty*. But herein they were deceived, for notwithſtanding all their *Preſents*, the *King* yet upon ſuch *ſubmiſſion* before made, demanded and forced them to pay after all this, *Ten thouſand pounds*, or elſe they muſt have ventured the *Effects* of his new *Diſpleaſure*.

The *Duke* of *Gloceſter* having been furniſht with Money to raiſe an *Army*, for an *Expedition* into *Ireland*, (of which the *King* had lately created him *Duke*:) When his Troops were now juſt *ready* to *march*, and all things prepared, was on a ſudden *without any cauſe* Recall'd, and the Voyage Countermanded, to the great *Detriment* as well of *England* as *Ireland*: For upon the Report of his *Coming*, almoſt all the *petty Iriſh Kings* had adviſed one with another, and reſolved to *ſubmit themſelves* to the *Engliſh*.

The Year 1393, a *Parliament* at *Wincheſter* gave the *King* half a *Tenth* for the *Clergy*, and half a *Fifteenth* for the *Laiety*, towards the Expences of the *Dukes* of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, who were going into *France*, to Treat of a *Peace* between the *Two Crowns*. The *French King* ſometime before had loſt his *Senſes*, but was now pretty well recovered, yet at this time narrowly eſcaped with his life, from the *Treachery of the Duke his Brother*, who over-greedily Aſpired to the *Crown*. For the *King* and ſeveral other Per-

ſons of Quality dancing a *Rural Mask*, to make themſelves appear more like thoſe *Savages* which they were to repreſent, had got on ſtrait Garments cloſe to their Bodies, cover'd over with *Towe*, which was fixt on with *Roſin* and *Pitch* to make it ſtick the faſter: Now when they were buſie in the midſt of their *Dance* by *Torch-light*, a *Villain* ſuborn'd by the *Duke*, clapt a *Flambeau* amongſt them, as if done by *Accident*, whereby in an *inſtant* the *Tow* and other *Combuſtibles* took *fire*, but a *Lady* ſeeing the danger, ſnatcht away the *King* before the *flames ſeiz'd him*, whilſt Four of the other *Maskers*, notwithſtanding all the help imaginable was uſed, were immediately burnt to Death.

In *England* the Lord *Tho. Peircy* is made the *King's Steward*, and Sir *William Scroop* Chamberlain, a Perſon (ſaith our *Author*) *than whom in all Mankind, there could not be found one more wicked or cruel.*

The year following, 1394, was chiefly remarkable for *Funerals*; Firſt the *Dutcheſs* of *Lancaſter*, Daughter to the *King* of *Caſtile*, was ſnatcht away, then the *Counteſs* of *Derby* her Daughter in Law, next *Queen Ann* her ſelf, whoſe *Obſequies* were magnificently and at vaſt Expences *Celebrated* by the *King*, and ſoon after died *Iſabella Dutcheſs* of *York*: Nor was *Death* only content to Triumph over the *Ladies*, but alſo *mowed* down the Noble Sir *John Hawkwood*, a Knight whoſe *Valour* had rendred him *Famous* in many foreign *Nations*, and no leſs *dear* to his own.

About *Auguſt* iſſued a *Proclamation* throughout *England*, *That all the* Iriſh *ſhould forthwith re-*

turn

turn home, and wait the Kings coming thither at Lady-Day *next following, on pain of death.* And indeed it was but time to ſend them packing, for ſuch Multitudes were come over in hopes of *gain*, that they had left the *Engliſh* Pale in *Ireland*, almoſt quite *deſolate*; So that the natural *wild Iriſh* not yet Conquer'd, taking thereby an advantage, *deſtroyed* or *pillaged* the *few Subjects the King of England* had remaining there at their *pleaſure*. And whereas *King Edward* the *Third*, when he ſettled his *Courts of Juſtice, &c.* in that *Country*, received from thence to his *Exchequer, Thirty thouſand pounds per annum:* The ſame by reaſon of the want of *Inhabitants*, was not only *loſt*, but on the *contrary*, the *King* forc'd to be out of *Pocket Thirty thouſand Marks* every year in the neceſſary *defence* of his *Territories* there. Effectually to redreſs which, the *King* in Perſon about *Michaelmas*, ſail'd into *Ireland*. Attended with the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, the *Earls* of *March*, *Nottingham*, *Rutland*, *&c.* The *Iriſh* unable to *Cope* with ſo great a *Force*, endeavoured only to *weary* him with *Alarms*, *Ambuſcades*, and *Skirmiſhes*; but at laſt, divers of their *petty Princes* were glad to ſubmit to *King Richard*; of whom ſome he kept as *Hoſtages* for ſecurity, others he diſmiſt upon *Parole*. And for the better ſettlement of *Affairs*, Aſſembled a *Parliament* for *Ireland* at *Dublin*, and continued in that *Kingdom*, till after *Eaſter*.

In the mean time, *Anno* 1395, the *Duke* of *York*, *Guardian of England* during the *Kings abſence*, called a *Parliament* at *London*, Eight Days after *Twelfth-tide*; unto which was ſent from *Ireland* the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, who ſo zealouſly repre-

ſented the *Kings Neceſſities*, by reaſon of the *vaſt Expence* he had been at in this neceſſary and no leſs *Advantagious* than *Honourable Expedition* into *Ireland*; that the *Clergy* were content to preſent his Majeſty with a *Tenth*, and the *Commonalty* with a *Fifteenth*: But not without a *Proteſtation* firſt made, *That they were not bound to grant the ſame* De ſtricto jure, *but did it purely out of their Affection to their King.*

The *Lollards* (ſo call'd, as *Tritemius* ſays, from *Walter Lollard* a *German*, who flouriſht about the year 1315. Or as others think from *Lolium*, ſignifying *Darnel* or *Tares*; For being Followers and Diſciples of *Wickcliff*, the *Clergy*, and eſpecially the *Monks* and *Fryars* were not wanting to *brand* them with *ill Names*, and reputed them as the *Tares* ſown by the *evil One* in the *Field* of *Gods Church*;) Did about this time publickly affix on the Doors of S. *Paul's Church*, *Accuſations* of the *Clergy*, charging them with ſundry *Abominations*, and alſo divers *Concluſions* touching *Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, and the *Sacraments* of the *Church*. At which the *Biſhops* were much diſturb'd, and according to their uſual Method, inſtead of clearing themſelves, and confuting their *Adverſaries*, by *Scripture* or *Reaſon*, endeavoured to ſilence them by *Club-Law*, diſpatching away the *Archbiſhop* of *York*, and *Biſhop* of *London*, into *Ireland* to the *King*, Intreating him to haſten his *Return*, to ſuccour *Faith* and *Holy Church*, that were both like to be undone by the *Hereticks*, who were contriving how to take away the *Poſſeſſions* of the whole *Church*, and overthrow all the *Canonical Sanctions*. Upon this News, back comes the *King* from *Ireland*, and

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takes ſeveral of the Chief *Favourers* of the *Lollards* to task, threatning moſt terribly if they ſhew'd them any Countenance for the future. But the *Hereticks* were not the only *Afflicters* of the *Clergy* at this time; But *Birds* of their own *Neſts* began to pluck their *Feathers* too: For *William Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, got a *Bull from the Pope*, Impowering him to Levy throughout all the *Dioceſſes* of his *Province*, *Four pence in the Pound of all Eccleſiaſtical Goods and Revenues*, as well of thoſe Exempt, as not Exempt, and this without ſo much as *pretending any true or lawful Cauſe for the ſame.* However the Execution of this *Bull* being committed unto the *Archbiſhop* of *York*, and the *Biſhop* of *London*, though many of the inferiour *Clergy* grumbled not a little, and complained thereof as unreaſonable, yet they were generally forced to ſubmit unto it.

Anno Domini 1396, the *Duke* of *Lancaſter*, to whom the *King* had given the *Dutchy* of *Aquitain*, and who had been at *ineſtimable Charges* in thoſe Parts, to *Conciliate* to himſelf the *Affections* of the *Inhabitants:* No ſooner had obtained the ſame, but he was ſuddenly recall'd from thence by the *Kings Command.* To which, though it ſeemed no leſs *hard* than *unexpected*, the *Duke* paid a *punctual Obedience*, and was received if not with *Love*, yet at leaſt with a *ſhew of honour* by the *King*; from whom having obtain'd Licenſe to depart the *Court*, he haſtned to *Lincoln*, and there to the *Admiration* of all the World, (by reaſon of the *diſparity* of their *Qualities*) was married to *Katherine Swinford*, who for divers years before had been his *Miſtreſs*.

This

This year alſo the *Pope* wrot to the King, intreating him to aſſiſt the *Prelates* of the *Church* in the *Cauſe of God*, and of him the ſaid *King* and his *Kingdom*, againſt the *Lollards*, whom he declared to be *Traytors* not only to the *Church*, but likewiſe to the *King*; and therefore did moſt earneſtly preſs him, That whomſoever the *Biſhops* ſhould declare to be *Hereticks*, he would forthwith Condemn by his *Royal Authority*. But it ſeems the *King* was *too buſie* otherwiſe, to attend his *Holineſs's Commands*, and do his *Prelates drudgery* in *butchering* of *Hereticks*; for he was making mighty Preparations for a *Voyage*, not of *War*, but of *Gallantry* into *France*; where by agreement, the *two Kings* were to have a *Perſonal Conference*.

In order to which, *King Richard* paſſes over to *Calice*, and the *French King* came down to *Arde*, between which *two Towns* was the place appointed for their *Interview*, and *Magnificent Tents* erected for their *Entertainment*. But firſt they *interchangeably* took an *Oath*, truly and religiouſly to obſerve the *Sacred Laws* of *Amity* at this *Congreſs*, and that neither by themſelves or any of their *Subjects*, *Friends*, *Allies*, or any other to their privity, or with their Allowance, there ſhould *be contrived or practiſed any Hoſtility*, *Surpriſe*, *Damage*, *or Diſturbance by the one party to the other*. And for further *ſecurity*, the *Space* between the *two Royal Tents* was *Guarded* on either ſide, with Knights Armed, and drawn Swords in their hands, *Four hundred Engliſh* on the one hand, and *Four hundred French* on the other.

The

The *Twenty ſeventh* of *October* the *two Kings* met, Four *French Dukes* waiting on the *King* of *England*, and Five *Engliſh Noblemen*, *viz.* The *Dukes* of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, and the *Earls* of *Derby*, *Rutland* and *Northumberland*, attending the *French King*.

After an *Enterchange* of *Complements* between their *Majeſties*, it was firſt by *mutual conſent* order'd, That a *Chappel* at both their equal Charge ſhould in the place of their *Interview*, be Erected, which ſhould be called *The Chappel of our Lady of Peace*: And on *Saturday* the *Feaſt* of S. *Simon* and *Jude* on further Treaty, it was accorded, That there ſhould be a *Ceſſation of Arms* between the *Two Crowns* for the term of *Thirty years*; And that *King Richard* ſhould Eſpouſe *Iſabel* the *French Kings* Daughter, then not above *Eight years old*. On *Sunday* the *two Kings* Dined together in *King Richard's Tent*, and on the *Munday* the *French King* brought thither the young Lady, who was entruſted to the Tuition of the *Dutcheſſes* of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, and other *Engliſh Ladies*, who conveyed her with a Glorious Retinue to *Calice*; And ſoon after the *two Kings* in a moſt amicable manner took their Leaves of each other.

Walſingham tells us, That beſides the *Preſents* made by *King Richard*, to the *French King* and his Nobles, amounting to the value of *Ten thouſand Marks* and upwards, he ſpent in this Amorous Voyage above *Three hundred thouſand Marks*. And *Truſſel* relates, That the *Duke* of *Gloceſter* was not a little offended both with the *Match* and the *Truce*, alledging, *That it was more meet to be in Arms*,

Arms, than Amity with the French, *who being inferiour to the* Engliſh *in Courage, did ever overreach them in Craft, and being too weak for War, did oft-times prevail and get Advantages by Treaties of Peace.* That the *French Lady* (being but a *Child*) was a very unfit *Match* for *King Richard*, as well by reaſon of the *Diſparity* of their Years, as for that he had no Iſſue by his *firſt Wife*, and was not like to have any by *This*, unleſs perhaps in his *old Age*. But theſe *Arguments* not prevailing, the *Londoners* however took the Confidence to *Petition* the *King*; That ſeeing there was Peace with *France*, he would *Releaſe them of the Subſidy*, granted in the *laſt Parliament*, towards maintaining the Wars againſt that *Crown*. This *Suit* being by them ſo importunately followed, as much *perplexed the King*, until at length the *Duke* of *Lancaſter* aſſured them, That the procuring this *Peace*, had ſpent and loſt the *King Three hundred thouſand pounds*, wherewith they were pacified, though 'tis probable not very well pleaſed.

The *King* being returned ſafe into *England* with his *Baby-Bribe*, though not without the loſs of his *Tents*, and a great part of his *rich Furniture* caſt away by a *Tempeſt* in croſſing the *Channel*: The *Earl* of S. *Paul* was ſoon after ſent by the *French King* to Complement the young *Queen*, who having underſtood how earneſtly *Gloceſter* had inveigh'd againſt this *French Alliance*, was ('tis ſaid) an *eminent Inſtrument* in contriving and occaſioning the *deſtruction* of that *Duke*; Adviſing the *King*, that he was *too dangerous a Subject* to be ſufferr'd, and that it concern'd *His Majeſty* both

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in *Honour* to revenge the *Diſgraces* which he had by him formerly received, and in *Policy* to prevent the *Dangers* which he had cauſe to fear. Hereupon the *King* grows jealous of the *Duke*, and as *that Paſſion* is reſtleſs, and apt to be fed with the ſlighteſt *Imaginations*, ſo he began to pry more narrowly into his *Deportment*, watch his *Words*, and interpret both *Them* and his *Actions* to the *worſt*, framing to himſelf many vain *Apprehenſions* and needleſs *Diſquiets*.

To which another *Accident* not a little contributed; *viz.* The *King* having been paid the Money lent the *Duke* of *Britain* upon *Breſt*, Redelivered the *Town*, and thereupon the *Engliſh Soldiers* that were there in Garriſon, were ſent home; who at a *Feaſt* which the *King* kept at *Weſtminſter*, coming in great Numbers into the *Hall*: As ſoon as the *King* had Dined, the *Duke* of *Gloceſter* askt him, *If he obſerved thoſe men that ſtood in ſuch Troops in the Hall? Yes, marry* (ſaid the King) *Who were they? They were* (ſaid the Duke) *thoſe Souldiers, who by your ſurrendering up of* Breſt, *are ſent home, and muſt now either ſteal, or ſtarve.* And ſo went on to tax the *King* of an *unadviſed Deed*, with words much *more unadviſed*: Inſomuch that the *King* in great anger replyed, —*Why, Uncle! Do you think me either a Merchant, or a Fool, to ſell my Lands? By S.* John Baptiſt, *No*; *But could I refuſe to render the Town, when I was tendred the Money lent upon it?* And certainly it ſhews either great *weakneſs* in the *Duke*, if *Breſt* were but a *Mortgage*, and he did not know it; or much *Injuſtice* if knowing it, he would yet have had the *King* to detain it againſt *manifeſt Equity*. Upon this

this and the before-mentioned *Provocations*, there was kindled in the *King* ſuch a *Diſpleaſure* againſt the *Duke*, as could never afterwards be quench'd but by his *Blood*. And firſt he would often complain to the *Dukes* of *Lancaſter* and *York*, of the *Duke* of *Glocеſters* perverſeneſs in *Actions* and *croſneſs* in *Speech*, who endeavoured to excuſe him, and pacifie *His Majeſty*; alledging, *That their Brother indeed was more vehement, than they could commend, but they durſt aſſure His Majeſty, That his Heart was* dutiful *and* faithful; *and that ſuch his vehemency proceeded from a zealous regard leſt His Majeſty and his Kingdom ſhould ſuffer either in* Honour *or* Revenue, *and therefore His Majeſty had no cauſe either to fear, or be offended with him.* The *King* herewith ſeem'd to be ſatisfied, but however the ſaid *two Dukes* not knowing how far they might be involv'd in that Diſpleaſure, which they ſtill perceived he retain'd againſt their Brother, thought fit for avoiding the worſt, *to retire from Court*, thereby giving the *Duke* of *Glocеſter*'s *Enemies* the greater Opportunities to incenſe the *King* againſt him. Nor was it long before this black *ſwelling Cloud* of *Royal Indignation*, burſt forth into actual *Thunder*. But firſt,

In the Year 1397, a *Parliament* being ſummon'd at *London*, the *Duke* of *Lancaſter* cauſed the *Iſſue* he had before Marriage begot on *Katherine Swynford* to be *Legitimated*, and at the ſame time was granted to the King *half a Tenth* by the *Clergy*. Soon after which *King Richard*, *contrary to the Oath he had formerly taken, recall'd the Judges from* Ireland, *whom by his conſent, the Nobles in the other Parliament had for their Demerits baniſht.*

And

And certain idle Reports being ſpread, *That He was, or was like to be choſen* Emperour: The *King* thereupon began to take upon him a greater *Port* and *Magnificence* than ever before: To maintain which, he *fleec'd* the *Common People*, and borrowed almoſt of every body great Sums of Money; So that there was no *Prelate*, *City*, or *Citizen* of Eſtate in the whole *Kindom*, but *furniſht the King* out of their Stock.

And now the *Duke* of *Gloceſter* being retired to his Houſe at *Plaſhey* in *Eſſex*, the *King* with the *Earl* of *Nottingham* Lord Marſhal, and the Earl of *Huntington*, one day on a ſudden rode thitherwards, but left the Earl Marſhal with a ſelected Troop in *Ambuſcade* in the Foreſt, whilſt the *King* and his *Retinue* rode directly to the *Duke's Houſe*, who withal dutiful reſpect, and heartily welcom, receives and entertains them: Which *Treat* being over, the *King* deſires the *Duke* to accompany him towards *London*, who with a very ſmall Company waited on him accordingly; But being come into the Foreſt on a ſudden the *King* clapt Spurs to his Horſe, and the *Duke* was *ſtopt* by the Earl Marſhal, and by *violence hurried* to the *Thames*, there blindfolded, and againſt his will *ſhipt*, and carried to *Calice*, (then an *Engliſh Gariſon*) where he was kept cloſe Priſoner till afterwards privately put to death.

The next day the *King* invites the *Earl* of *Warwick* to Dinner, and ſhew'd him very good Countenance, but upon his Return cauſed him to be *Arreſted* and ſent to Priſon. At the ſame time the *Earl* of *Arundel* was apprehended, and the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheney* ſent to the *Tower*.

Theſe

Theſe *ſtrange Proceedings* Alarm'd the whole Nation, therefore to quiet the People, a *Proclamation* is iſſued, ſetting forth that theſe Noblemen were ſeiz'd not for any of their old Offences, but for new *Crimes* which ſhould be diſcover'd, and fairly proceeded againſt in the next *Parliament*. Accordingly ſoon after He cauſed them to be *Indicted*, ſuborning (ſaith *Walſingham*) *Appealors* to accuſe them in *Parliament* at *Nottingham*, *viz.* The *Earl* of *Rutland*, the *Earl Marſhal*, the *Earl* of *Kent*, *&c.* In the mean time the *King* draws out a great power of Armed-men, [*Multos Malefactores*, our Author calls them] from *Cheſhire* and *Wales*, whom he kept about him as a Guard for his Perſon.

About the *Octaves* of the Feaſt of the Virgin *Maries* Nativity, a *Parliament* began at *London*, whereof one Sir *John Buſhy* was *Speaker*, and Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, chief *Sticklers*, Perſons of whom the *Hiſtorians* give this Character, That they were *Proud*, *Ignorant*, *Covetous*, and withal *Ambitious*: To which might be added, that they were moſt notable *Flatterers* too, if it be true that *Buſhy* in all his *Speeches* did not attribute to the *King*, *Titles of Honour* due and accuſtomed; but *ſuch as were fitter for the Majeſty of Almighty God, than for any earthly Prince.* By the Importunity of theſe men and others, *all the Charters of Pardon* formerly granted by the *King*, were called into queſtion; the *King* proteſting they were drawn from him *againſt his Conſent*: The *Clergy* firſt gave their Opinion, but ſomewhat ſparingly, That they thought then they might be *revocable*, and the

Temporal

Temporal Lords ſhewed themſelves of the ſame opinion, but the *Judges and Lawyers* oppoſed it, How it was carried according to the King's Inclination, and all the ſaid *Pardons vacated and annull'd.*

Having thus remov'd all *Obſtacles*, they next fall roundly to work, only the *Prelates* pretending a Scrupuloſity, that they might not be preſent at *Judgments* of *Blood*, choſe Sir *Henry Peircy* their *Procurator*, and departed the Houſe. Firſt, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was accuſed for executing the *Commiſſion* againſt *Michael de Pole*, for which his *Temporalities* were ſeiz'd, his Lands and Goods forfeited, and he himſelf adjudged to perpetual Baniſhment, and to depart the *Realm* within ſix Weeks. In whoſe place the *King* cauſed to be preferred his Treaſurer *Roger de Walden*, who, becauſe (ſaith our Author) he *preſum'd to aſcend to the Bed of his living Father*; (that is, to take the *Archbiſhoprick* whilſt the ſaid *Thomas* ſurviv'd) was two years afterwards turn'd out by the Authority of the *Pope*. Sir *R. Baker* tells us, That when this *Archbiſhop* was firſt accuſed of *Treaſon*, he offered to make his *Defence*, but Sir *John Buſhy* beſought the King, *That he might not be admitted to Anſwer, leſt by his great Wit and Cunning, he might lead men away to believe him.* If all their Proceedings were like this, we may eaſily gueſs at the *Juſtice* of the reſt.

In the next place, They proceeded to *Judgment* againſt the Earl of *Arundel*, who in vain pleaded the *Benefit of his Pardon*, for he was notwithſtanding ſentenc'd to be *Drawn, Hang'd and Quartered*, which was mitigated by the *King* in-

to the favour of *Beheading*. The *Earl* when called to Anſwer, Condemn'd, and at his Death betrayed not the leaſt *ſymptoms* either of *Guilt* or *Fear*; But obſerving the *Earls* of *Nottingham* and *Kent*, (of whom the firſt was his *Son-in-law*, the ſecond his *Nephew*) to be very buſie at his *Execution*: He calmly ſaid to them, —— *Truly it might have beſeemed you at leaſt rather to have been abſent; but the time will come ere-long, that as many ſhall marvel at your Misfortune, as they do now at mine.* This *Earl* was wonderfully belov'd by the *Commons*; and *Walſingham* affirms, That the *King* was afterwards haunted with an *Imagination* of his *Ghoſt*, not being able to cloſe his Eyes, but ſtrait he fancied *Arundel* ſtood before him: And the more to diſturb him, *a Miracle* was reported, *That his Head of it ſelf was grown to his Body*: Which was aſſerted with ſo much Confidence, that the *King* cauſed his *Tomb* to be opened, to diſprove the *Fiction*; and underſtanding that ſtill the People went on *Pilgrimage* thither as to the *Shrine* of a *Saint*, or *Martyr*, cauſed the *Auguſtan Fryars* in *London*, amongſt whom he was *buried*, to take down his *Scutcheons*, and *abſcond* his *Grave*, by laying a *new Pavement* over it.

The *Lord Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, upon his *Arraingment*, did not carry himſelf with ſo much *Courage* and *Gallantry*, but confeſs'd with *Tears* he had been a *Traytor* in joyning with the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, and other *Lords* formerly acting *againſt the Kings pleaſure*: Therefore though condemned to Die, the *King* remitted that *Puniſhment*, and only ordered him to perpetual *Impriſonment* in the *Iſle of Man*. The *Lord Cobham*

Cobham was alſo *baniſht*, though there was no *new Matter* againſt him: But only that he had been appointed by *Parliament*, to be one of the *Commiſſioners* of *Inſpection* before mentioned, in the tenth year of his Reign.

As for the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, having ſo great an Intereſt in the *Affections* of the *People*, it was not thought ſafe to bring him to a *publick Tryal*, but concluded with more *Policy* than *Juſtice*, to put him to death *ſecretly*, without either *Conviction* or *Examination*: And therefore being a *cloſe Priſoner* as aforeſaid at *Calice*, he was by certain *Ruffians* ordered thereunto by *Nottingham Earl Marſhal*, ſuddenly one Night *ſtrangled* or *ſtifled to death between two Feather Beds*. Thus fell this *Great*, and (for ought we find in Writers of thoſe times) *Good Prince*, the *Son of One*, and *Uncle of another King*, and ſo beloved of the *People*, that *with him* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *the general Hope and Comfort of the Commonalty of the Land expired*.

And now the *King* cauſed the *Parliament* to be *Adjourn'd* till after *Chriſtmas*, and then to Sit again at *Shrewsbury*.

Where in the beginning of the Year 1398, they met accordingly; and the *King* by the *Intereſt* he had made amongſt them, cauſed not only all the *Proceedings* of the *Parliament* in the Tenth Year of his Reign, to be *Condemned* and *Annulled*; But alſo obtained a *Conceſſion* from them, That after the *preſent Parliament* ſhould break up, *Its whole Power ſhould yet be Conferred upon and remain in certain Perſons by them particularly named, or any Seven or Eight of them*. Who by vertue of

ſuch Power granted, did afterwards proceed to *Act and Determine* many things concerning the *Publick State of the Nation*, and properly the *Work of a Parliament*, to the great *prejudice of the Realm*.

And to fix himſelf more firm with *Friends*, or Illuſtrate his *Triumphs* over thoſe he thought his *Enemies*: The *King* about this time was moſt liberal in Conferring of *Honours*, Creating no leſs than *Five new Dukes*, of whom one was the *Earl* of *Derby*, made *Duke* of *Hereford*; and another the *Earl* of *Nottingham*, (probably for his *good Service* in diſpatching the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*) raiſed to the Title of *Duke* of *Norfolk*; One *Dutcheſs*, One *Marqueſs*, and Four *Earls*: Amongſt whom he made a *Diſtribution* of a great part of the *Lands* of the *Duke* of *Gloceſter*, and of the *Earls* of *Arundel* and *Warwick*; imagining by this *double Bounty of Honour and Eſtate to ſupport it*, to have tyed them with a double *Obligation* of *Duty* and *Affection*: Not conſidering that *hired Friends* for the moſt part are ſeldom either *ſatisfied* or *ſure*; but rather like ſome *Ravens* that *Naturaliſts* tell of in *Arabia*, which being *full-gorg'd*, have very ſweet *tuneable Notes*; but *empty*, ſcriech moſt horribly.

Furthermore, to gratifie the *Cheſhire-men*, who had chiefly aſſiſted him and his late *Favourites*, he qualified that County with the *Name* and *Dignity* of a *Principality*, and added to the reſt of his own Titles, that of *Prince* of *Cheſter*.

A *General Pardon* was alſo granted for all *Offences* to all the *Kings Subjects*, but clogg'd with a ſtrange *Clauſe* of *Exception*, exempting *Fifty*

Perſons

Perſons in number, from the Benefit thereof, whoſe Names were not expreſſed, but left to the *Kings* own *knowledge* and *pleaſure*; to the end, that if any of the Nobility ſhould happen any way to diſpleaſe, he might nominate *him* or *them* to be of the Number excepted, and ſo ſtill keep them within his danger. By which *Reſervation* the *General Pardon* became *no Pardon at all*, ſince no man in *England* could aſſure himſelf that he was included in it.

Laſtly, To *Corroborate* and add the *greater eſteem* to the *Acts* and *Proceedings* of this *Parliament*, *King Richard* purchaſed the *Popes Bulls* containing grievous Cenſures and *Curſes* on all that ſhould preſume to break or oppoſe them: Which were ſolemnly publiſhed at *Pauls Croſs*, and other Places throughout *England*.

All things ſucceeding thus ſuitable to the *Kings pleaſure*; the *Heads* of the *Party* that oppoſed his Will, having loſt their *Heads*: the *Nobles* afraid, and the *Commons unable* to expreſs their *Reſentments*, any otherwiſe than in *Sighs*, or *whiſper'd Murmurs* and *Complainis*: His *Officers of State*, His *Laws*, nay His very *Parliament*, all modell'd to His *Deſigns*, He could not but ſing *Requiems* to His *Soul*, and look upon himſelf in a Condition altogether *happy* and *ſecure*. When yet to ſhew that there is ſtill an *over-ruling Providence* that can *blaſt all Projects*, though never ſo *ſubtlely laid*, if not founded on *Equity*, and carried on with *Juſtice*: A *Monarch Paramount*, who *confoundeth the Counſels of Princes, and is terrible to the Kings of the Earth*; when once they become diſobedient unto, and forgetful of him: Behold on a ſudden,

all his *Affairs* by unexpected Means and unlikely Inſtruments, are *embroil'd* more than ever, and this *great Prince* left ſo deſtitute of *Power*, or *Friends*, as to be forced without ſtriking one *ſtroke*, to ſurrender his *Crown*; and (which was yet more grievous to a *Generous Mind*) acknowledge Himſelf both *unworthy* and *unfit* to wear it any longer.

This *wonderful Cataſtrophe* has ſince been thought to have been fore-ſhewn by ſome *prodigious Tokens*, that happened about this time: As that in this Year 1398, when almoſt throughout all *England*, all the *Bay-trees withered*, and afterwards beyond all expectation, grew *green* again. And another perhaps more remarkable on *New-Years Day* following, When a very *deep River* running between the *Villages* of *Suelleſton* and *Harewod* near *Bedford*, on a ſudden *ſtopt its Courſe*, and divided it ſelf, ſo as that for *three Miles* ſpace the *Channel* remain'd *dry*.

But waving ſuch *uncertain Preſages*, if we conſider the ſeveral *Steps* that led to this *grand Mutation*; The firſt both in *order of Time* and *Influence*, may be reckon'd that of the *Baniſhment* of the *Duke* of *Hereford*, Son of the *Duke* of *Lancaſter*: This was occaſioned by means of a *Quarrel* between Him and *Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, but what the *grounds* were of that *Quarrel*, is ſomewhat differently reported by *Authors*, for though all agree, 'twas about *certain words ſpoken to the Kings diſhonour*, yet of what *nature* thoſe words were, is not ſo certainly *related*. But the beſt, that is, *moſt probable account thereof*, that I can meet with, is as follows.

The

The *Duke* of *Hereford*, either diſdaining the *undeſerved Favours* and *Advancement* of ſome Perſons about the *King*; or *diſliking* that his Sovereign ſhould be *abuſed*, and his Country *oppreſt* by ſuch *ill Inſtruments*; or perhaps to ſhew his *own skill* and *ſufficiency* in the *Art of Government*, happened one day in *familiar Conference* with the *Duke* of *Norfolk*; to complain, that the *King* too much undervalued the *Princes of the Blood*, and much diſcouraged the reſt of the *Ancient Nobility* from intermeddling in *Publick Affairs*: That inſtead of uſing their *able Advice* and *Service*, He was Engroſſed by a few *upſtart Favourites* of baſe *Birth*, and *baſer Qualities*; having no ſufficiency either for *Counſel* in *Peace*, or *Courage* in *War*: And whoſe diſhoneſt Conditions had deſervedly contracted the *Odium* and *Contempt* of the *whole Realm*; whereby the *Honour* of the *Kings Perſon* was much obſcured, the *ſafety* of his *Eſtate* endanger'd, and the *Dignity* of the *Engliſh Nation* not a little *impaired*: And that it was high time, that the *King* ſhould provide ſome Redreſs herein. And all this he proteſted he mention'd not out of a *Picque* to any particular perſon, but out of Compaſſion for ſo *publick Grievance*, and *zealous Duty* to his *Soveraign*. And therefore deſired the ſaid *Duke*, that he being one of the *Kings Cabinet-Counſel*, would be pleas'd to diſcover unto His Majeſty, theſe *Enormities* and *Dangers*, that by removing the *One*, he might happily prevent the *Other*.

To *theſe*, or *ſome ſuch Diſcourſes*, the *Duke* of *Norfolk* ſeemed much to adhere, aſſuring *Hereford*, that in theſe *Apprehenſions* he had but *Copied*

his own *Thoughts*, and ſeemed not only to approve of what he ſaid, but promiſed to improve his *Intereſt* towards a *Regulation* of the *Matters* Complained of. And perhaps had the words been afterwards by him but as *faithfully* related, and by the *King* as *candidly* taken, as they were freely and *innocently* intended, many *Miſchiefs* might have been avoided. But on the *contrary*, they were maliciouſly *miſ-recited*, and much *miſ-conſtrued*: For the *Duke* of *Norfolk* had formerly ſided with the *Lords*, yet it ſeems Preferment had taken him off, and he was now become wholly addicted to humour the King: And therefore to ſcrue himſelf yet further into favour, acquaints him with theſe Complaints of the Duke of *Hereford*, but ſo *exaggerated*, and intermixt with reflective *Additions*, that the King was highly incenſed, and calling *Hereford* before him, charged him therewith, who denying a great part thereof, and *Norfolk* as ſtoutly *aſſerting* it, the *former* challenged the *latter* to the *Combate*, who readily accepted thereof, which at laſt the King allows, aſſigning *Coventry* the place, and *Auguſt* following for the *time* of deciſion.

And though it be not much *material* to our Hiſtory, yet to gratify the vulgar Readers Curioſity, it will perhaps be no unwelcome *digreſſion*, to relate the *Formality* of the intended *Duel*, between theſe two Puiſſant Peers. On the day therefore appointed, each of them attended with a ſplendid and numerous *retinue*, appears: The Duke of *Albemarle* was *pro Tempore*, made *High Conſtable*; and the Duke of *Surry*, *High Marſhal*: who came to the Liſts Honourably attended with Rich *Liveries*;

ries; ſuitable to their greatneſs, each of their Servants carrying *Tipſtaves* for clearing the Field. Where, firſt the Duke of *Hereford* as *Challenger*, mounted on a White Courſer, in Capariſons of Green and Blew Velvet, Embroidered thick with *Swans* and *Antelopes*, armed *Cap-a-pe*, with his Sword drawn, approached the Liſts: of whom the Marſhal demanding *who he was*! received this Anſwer,—*I am Henry of Lancaſter, Duke of Hereford, that am come hither to do my Devoir, againſt Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk: as a falſe Traytor to God, the King, the Realm, and me.* And then taking his *Oath*, that his Quarrel was *true and juſt*: deſired liberty to enter the Liſts, which being granted, he put up his Sword, pull'd down his Beaver, ſign'd himſelf on the Fore-head with the *Croſs*, took his Spear, and paſſing the Barriers, diſmounted, and ſate down in a Chair of *Green Velvet*, placed in a Travers of Green and Blew Velvet, at one end of the Liſts.

Then King *Richard* enters the Field with great Pomp, accompained with the Earl of S. *Paul*, who came out of *France*, on purpoſe to be a *Spectator* of the Combat, and attended with moſt of the *Nobleſs* of *England*, and a Guard of Ten Thouſand men in Arms, to prevent any ſudden Tumults, or diſorders His Majeſty being ſeated in a *Chair of State*: one of the *Kings at Arms* made Proclamation, *That none but ſuch as were appointed to Marſhall the Field, ſhould touch any part of the Liſts, upon pain of Death.* Which ended, another Herald cryeth,— *Behold, here* Henry *of* Lancaſter, *Duke of* Hereford *Appellant, who is entred into the Royal Liſts, to do his devoir againſt* Thomas Mowbray,

Duke

Duke of Norfolk: *upon pain of being counted falſe and Recreant.*

Immediately upon this, appear'd the Duke of *Norfolk* bravely mounted, his Horſe barbed with *Crimſon-Velvet*, embroidered with *Lions* of Silver, and *Mulberry Trees proper*, and having taken a like *Oath* before the Conſtable and Marſhal, that his Quarrel was *Right and Juſt*, entred the Field; crying aloud, *God ayd the Right*; and then lighted from his Horſe, placing himſelf in a Chair of Crimſon Velvet oppoſite to *Hereford*, at the other end of the Liſts, the Marſhal viewed their *Spears*, to ſee that they were of equal length, and carried the one himſelf to the Duke of *Hereford*, and ſent the other by a Knight, to the Duke of *Norfolk*. This done, Proclamation was made, *to mount, and addreſs themſelves to the Combat.* Upon which the Dukes inſtantly mount their Horſes, cloſed their Beavers, caſting their Spears into their Reſt, when the Trumpers ſounded, and the Duke of *Hereford* put his Horſe forward, but before *Norfolk* ſtirred, the King caſt down his *Warder*, and the Heralds cryed, *ſtay! ſtay!* Then the King cauſing their Spears to be taken from them, they returned to their Chairs, whilſt he retired to *Council*, to debate what was fit to be done in ſo weighty a cauſe: where after two Hours debate, their *doom* was agreed upon without fighting, and one Sir *John Bouray*, by the Kings Command, after ſilence proclaim'd, read their Sentence, which was thus: That foraſmuch as the Dukes Appellant, and Defendant, had honourably appeared in the Liſt Royal, and were not only ready, but forward to entertain the Combat, therefore it being an Affair

fair of great conſequence, for *avoiding the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood*, the King by the advice of his Council had decreed: That *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, ſhould within 15 days *depart the Realm*; not to return within the ſpace of *Ten Years*, *on pain of Death:* without the Kings ſpecial Licenſe; and after a Second Proclamation, ſentence of Baniſhment was alſo read againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, but with theſe ſeveral aggravations. Firſt, that the ſame was for *Life*; Secondly, that the *Cauſe* thereof was expreſſed to be, for having *uttered, Seditious words whereof he could not produce any proof*; And Thirdly, it was added as part of his further puniſhment, That the King ſhould *receive the Revenues of his Lands* untill he were ſatisfied, all ſuch ſumms of Money, as the ſaid Duke had taken out of the Kings Coffers, on pretence of paying the Garriſon of *Callice*.

And further it was proclaimed, That no perſon from thenceforth ſhould preſume to *Petition*, or *Intercede* with the King, in the behalf of either of theſe Dukes, to alter this ſentence, on pain of his Majeſties high diſpleaſure: which being ſo declared, the King called them both before him, and took of them a Solemn Oath, That they ſhould never *Converſe* together beyond the Seas, nor willingly come into each other's Company.

The Duke of *Norfolk* ſoon after, in great grief and trouble of mind, departed into *Germany* and, from thence to *Venice*, where in a ſhort time he died with ſorrow, leaving this cautionary Leſſon to all Courtiers, *That greatneſs abuſed by whiſpering untruths, draweth, if diſcovered, certainty of deſtruction.* And obſervable it is, that his Baniſh-

ment

ment was pronounced on *the very day Twelve Month*, on which the Duke of *Gloceſter*, had by his order been *Murdered* at *Calice*, ſo juſt is the Divine *Nemeſis:* not only in revenging ill actions, but cauſing the puniſhment to be attended with ſuch circumſtances as may make the world take notice of it.

The Duke of *Hereford* took his leave of the King, at *Eltham*, behaving himſelf ſo reſpectfully, that his Majeſty was there pleaſed to declare, he would *abate* 4 *Years* of his Exilement: yet could not that pacify the Murmurs of the people, who could not be perſwaded; that there was any cauſe for his being Baniſht at all. Exclaiming that it was againſt the Law of Arms, the cuſtome of the Realm, and all Juſtice; that he ſhould be Exil'd, who had ſo Honourably offered to maintain his *Appeal* according to the Law of the Field. He directed his courſe from *England* to *Paris*, where he was nobly received by the *French King*, and found ſuch favour in that Court: That he was offered in Marriage, the only daughter of the Duke of *Berry*; the ſaid Kings Uncle. But King *Richard* having notice thereof, uſed means to ſtop the proſecution of that Treaty.

He had not been gone many Months, but his Father, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, pays Nature her Debt; his Death perhaps being haſtened by thoſe Impreſſions of grief, which this diſgrace of his Son might occaſion on his Spirits. The Character given this Duke by Hiſtorians, ſpeaks him a Man well adviſed and wary, an approver of ſafe Councils with reaſon, rather than Fortunate Exploits with hazzard: One that was neither negligent, nor ambitiouſly

ambitiouſly tender of Glory, and therefore deported himſelf towards the King his Nephew, in terms honourable and reſpective enough for a moderate Prince, and yet not ſo plauſible as an uncollected greatneſs, and the *depravity* of the Court might deſire, whereby little happened unto him Extraordinary: either in Prejudice or Preferment.

By his Death, the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, did lineally deſcend to his Eldeſt Son, the ſaid Duke of *Hereford*. But (as the Nature of Man is very Prone to hate thoſe whom he hath injured) the King forthwith ſeizes all the *Lands and Goods of the deſceaſed Duke*, endeavoured to perpetuate the Baniſhment of the Young Duke, and revoked the Letters Patent he had granted and conſented unto, for enabling the ſaid Dukes Attornies to ſue out his *Ouſter Le Main and Livery* of thoſe Lands, which during his exile, ſhould deſcend to him, his Homage being formerly concluded upon to be Reſpited at a reaſonable Fine. And all this without any Crime alleadged (that we can hear of) againſt the Father, whereby he ſhould have forfeited his Eſtate: or new Provocation given by the Son, whereby a Colour might ariſe for his being deprived of it.

This ſeverity could not but Enrage the Duke, who was already ſufficiently diſcontented at his Baniſhment, nor were the People ſparing to Exclaim (where they durſt) againſt theſe proceedings as unjuſt, and thence to contract, firſt, a Pity, and afterwards an high eſteem for this Exil'd Noble-man, who though not the Immediate Heir preſumptive to the Crown, (for *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl

Earl of *March*, was therein before him, the Right having by Parliament (the common Arbitrator in that caſe in thoſe daies,) been formerly declared to be in his Father, as being Son of *Phillipa*, the daughter of *Lionel*, the Third Son of King *Edward* the Third, whereas, the late Duke of *Lancaſter*, was but the Fourth Son of that King.) Yet being ſo near it, and thus exaſperated, they thought he might ſtep over that Obſtacle. *Si jus violandum Regni causâ violandum eſt.* They knew him to be an active Prince, and of great Courage; and therefore generally fixt their Eyes on him, as the man that muſt be their deliverer from thoſe grievances and preſſures, under which they lay gaſping. And indeed their condition could not but be very uneaſy, for the King having got rid of two of his Uncles, viz. *Gloceſter* and *Lancaſter*, (one murdered, the other naturally deceaſed) and the Third, which was *York*, either in diſdain for the Indignity offered to his Nephew *Hereford*, or in diſtruſt of his own ſafety, being retir'd with his Son, the Duke of *Albemarle*, to his Houſe at *Langley*, look't upon himſelf as abſolutely *Hors de Page*, free from any Controul, with which their unwelcome gravity was wont ſometimes to check his irregular Appetite; and therefore now took a greater Liberty than before, to diſoblige and haraſs his People. For thus we find the condition of thoſe times deſcribed.

That the King abandoned himſelf to ſloth, and lay plunged in the ſoft, but deſtructive Charms of pleaſure; by whoſe example the Nobility too much gave themſelves up to eaſie and Luxury; whereby Cowardice and Effeminacy crept in, and Ship-

wrack

wrack was made both of Manhood and Reputation. The chief Affairs of State had long been Bias'd by private reſpects, which made the Nation decline as well in Riches as Honour: and all things being out of due Motion, the *Common-weal* ſeem'd not ſo much by degrees, as with a main Courſe, and at once, precipating into inevitable Ruine. The *Northern* parts by frequent loſſes, almoſt conſumed by the *Scots*, who had taken ſeveral important Poſts, and defaced all the Countrey with Slaughter, and Devaſtations. Towards the *South*, the Merchant Ships were daily ſurprized by the *French*, who likewiſe frequently pillaged the *Sea-coaſts*: And of the Kings Hereditary Dominions in *France*, many ſtrong holds were loſt by negligence, or ſold by ill adviſe and Treachery. Forces ſometimes were often pretended to be ſent over for their defence, but ſo ſcatteringly, at ſuch unſeaſonable times, ſo ill accommodated, or under ſuch indiſcreet conduct, that they were occaſions rather of loſs, than help. Affairs were managed by ſuch as neither Nature had deſign'd, nor Education prepared, nor Experience qualified for Politicians; but corrupt or ignorant Miniſters by flatteries and baſe Arts ſway'd in the Kings affections, and diſpoſed of all things at their pleaſure, keeping him as it were beſeiged from any better advice. The profits and revenues of the Crown, nay, the whole Kingdome was *let to farm*, the King making himſelf only a Landlord, and challenging no greater priviledge by his Reign, than a *diſſolute and uncontroled Life*. Great ſums of Money, were by *new-found and unwonted* means every day rather extorted from, than voluntarily granted by the ſubject, where-

whereof no advantage accrew'd to the Kingdom, only private pleaſures were maintain'd at an extravagant Rate, and *unworthy Favorites* advanced. To theſe, the King was ſo exceſſively Liberal, that he was forced to borrow, begg, and extort in many places, to ſupply this vain laviſh humour, undoing many without cauſe, to Inrich a few without deſert. Over and above the *Tenths*, and *Fifteenths*, and ſuch uſual *Taxes*, which were many times gathered double in one Year, ſtrange Impoſitions were deviſed and put in practiſe, ſometimes exacting 12 *d. per poll*, of every Subject, 6 *s.* 8 *d.* of every Prieſt, and Religious Perſon: great ſums drawn from the People under the favourable Term of *Benevolence*, and ſo much borrowed upon *privy-Seals*, that no Man of Ability could eſcape his *Loan*, though very ſeldome any repayment was made.

And to add to all former burdens this preſent Year, 1399. He charged 17 whole Counties with taking part againſt him heretofore with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the reſt of the Lords, and threatned with *Armed force, to ſpoil and deſtroy them as publick Enemies.* And having thus affrighted them, ſent certain Commiſſioners, Biſhops, and Lords Temporal, to all the ſaid ſeveral Shires, to let them know his heavy diſpleaſure: And that without due acknowledgment of the Offence, and Submiſſion to his mercy, he could not receive them into his Grace and Favour: whereby they were prevailed upon, to own themſelves *Traitors under their Hands and Seals.* Which was no ſooner obtained, but they were compell'd to pay inſupportable Sums of Money, for the *Redemption* of their Lives and Eſtates,

ſtates, and procuring their Peace; whereby they were all ſo impoveriſht, that few were able to ſubſiſt, none at preſent to Reſiſt. And yet further to make Conſcience it ſelf acceſſary to ſlavery: *New Oaths* were Impoſed, not warranted by any Law, and the People conſtrained to Seal *Blank Charters*, and *Obligations*, and deliver them to the Kings uſe, wherein whatſoever he pleaſed might afterwards be inſerted.

The King bearing ſo heavy an Hand over his People, 'tis no wonder if they bear an hard Heart towards him; who being ſhallow in judgment, and not able to cover his Vices, but with a Cloak of ſeeming terrible and powerfull, became firſt hated, and afterwards contemptible, and drove many of his Subjects to an Inclination to Revolt, as reſolved rather to run the hazzard of a ſpeedy ruine by Rebellion, than to periſh by ſuch a lingering Death of ſlavery.

In order hereunto, there had been ſome overtures very privately made by Lettets to the Duke of *Hereford*, importuning his ſpeedy return into *England:* Remonſtrating, that as well for the *publick good* of the Realm, as for their own particular ſafeties, they ſhould be forced to uſe force for their deliverance from theſe intollerable oppreſſions, and therefore ſolliciting him to be pleaſed, but to make the *Head*, and they would furniſh the *Body*, with an able *Army*, and not only help him in bare wiſhes and advice, but would joyn Hearts and Hands to adventure their *Lives and Fortunes in his Quarrel*, which was alſo there own, ſo that the danger ſhould be Common to all, the Glory only his.

The Duke entertained theſe addreſſes with

great wariness, and such moderation: that he seem'd rather worthy of a Kingdom, than desirous of it. But to Whet him to an Edge, and settle his Resolutions for the Enterprize, there wanted not an apt and politick Instrument. This was *Thomas Arundel*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who being with the other Bishops in the Parliament, when his Brother the Earl of *Arundel*, together with the Earl of *Warwick*, *&c.* were called into question, because *Clergy-men* by the Canons are commanded, not to be present at any *judgment of Blood:* He and the rest of that Order, *departed the House.* Upon which occasion being absent, not only his Brother was condemned for high Treason, and Executed, as you have heard, but he himself Banish't the Realm, his goods seized as forfeit, and his Archbishoprick conferr'd on another. This Prelate after this disaster, did with divers of his Confederates, by several ways, and in strange disguises, come to *Paris*, and in the House of one *Clomigey*, where the Duke had taken Lodgings, had frequent Conferences with his Grace touching the Affairs of *England*; Their debates you may Imagine, were managed with the strictest secrecy. And I have alwaies been of Opinion, that it better becomes a *Romance*, than a serious *History*, for the Author to forge *set Speeches* on such occasions: wherein, though he may please, he does but deceive the Reader, for how suitable soever he may contrive them, yet 'tis forty to one but the parties themselves, might make use of very different *Topicks*; Without guessing therefore at their words, let it suffice to say, their Consultations terminated in a Result, that the Duke should adventure

venture himſelf over into *England*, and try his Fortune, upon the firſt convenient opportunity; Which ſoon preſented it ſelf the moſt invitingly that could be imagined.

The Earl of *March*, appointed by the King to be his *Lieutenant* in *Ireland*, expoſing his perſon too adventurouſly, was ſlain by the *Wild Iriſh*, which ſo exaſperated King *Richard*, that he reſolved in perſon to revenge his Death. In order to which he raiſed a great Army, but not without grievous Charge to his Subjects, and about *Whitſontide*, ſet forwards, accompanied with the Dukes of *Albemarle*, and *Exeter*, divers of the Nobles, and many Mitred Prelates, amongſt whom, was the *Abbot* of *Weſtminſter*, a chief Favourite; and taking with him, not only the Sons of the Dukes of *Glocester*, and *Hereford*, (whom he pretended to inſtruct by that expedition in the *Rudiments of War*: but indeed ſecured them as *Hoſtages*, to prevent any attempts, that might be made in his Abſence by their Relations, of whom he was moſt apprehenſive.) But alſo all his Treaſure, Jewels, Plate, and Royal Robes: as if he had deſign'd, (as in the event it effectually prov'd) to have taken a final leave of his Kingdom, and Dignity here in *England*.

Beſides theſe general diſcontents of the People, occaſioned by the former ill-conduct, and oppreſſions of Corrupt Miniſters of ſtate, he juſt upon his departure, ſtumbled upon another Error in Politicks; for being at *Briſtoll*, it was ſuggeſted to him; That *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, with others his *Partiſans*, intended ſome diſloyal attempt, and therefore did not tender their Service

in this Expedition: whereupon by a *purſevant*, he commanded the ſaid Earl with all the Forces he could raiſe forthwith to repair to him: whereunto, the Earl by a Letter returned an excuſe, inſtead of Compliance; intreating his Majeſty to conſider, how little neceſſary it would be for the *Iriſh* Service, and indeed dangerous to the whole Realm, to draw men from ſuch remote Places, in regard thoſe Rebels were neither ſo many, nor ſo mighty, but that the King had already ſufficient Forces, to reduce them to Obedience; And to diſfurniſh the *Northern* parts of their ſtrength, would but give an opportunity to the *Scots*, to Invade us. And therefore begg'd his Majeſty; that he would be pleaſed in ſuch a Juncture, to Excuſe him from attending. This anſwer the King interprets as an Affront, to his Authority, and in an unadviſed Heat, proclaims the Earl, and all that ſhould take his part, *Traytors*: and *Orders* all their Lands, and Goods to be ſeiz'd to his uſe. The Earl reſenting this diſgrace, and forced (as it were by neceſſity) does then in earneſt make good the Original Information, by ſtanding upon his Guard: or rather in a poſture of open Hoſtility.

In the mean time the King purſues his Voyage for *Ireland*, whoſe Arrival Fortune courted with ſome *treacherous ſmiles*; for the petty *Iriſh Kings* terrified with the Fame of his Power, and not daring to truſt each other in a *joynt Defence*, endeavoured rather ſingly to make each one the beſt Bargain for himſelf, by being the firſt that ſhould ſubmit to the diſproportionate force of the Invader. But theſe Triumphs coſt King *Richard* dear in the ſequel; for whilſt he is thus engaged,

and

and abſent from his diſcontented Kingdom of *England*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* thinks it the only proper time to put in execution what he and others his Confederates had been conſulting of: Wherefore diſpatching ſome of his truſty Emiſſaries over to acquaint his Friends, and provide *Arms* and all neceſſaries for his Arrival; He addreſſes himſelf to the *French King* with a Complement, That he intended to pay a Viſit to his Kinſman *John* Duke of *Britain*, and therefore deſired his Majeſties Royal Letters of *ſafe Conduct*; which being granted, he there very privately levied a few Souldiers, with whom, hiring three Ships of the Duke of *Britain*, he put to Sea for *England*, accompanied with the forementioned *Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Tho.* Heir to *Richard* late Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramſton* Knights, *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt* Eſquires having not in all above twenty Lances, and his whole Retinue beſides conſiſting not of above ſixty perſons; ſo that 'tis hard to judge which was the greateſt wonder, that he durſt attempt, or that he did ſucceed in the Conqueſt of a Kingdom, with ſo inconſiderable a Company. But his Confidence was not ſo much in the People he brought with him, as in the ſtrength he ſhould find here, relying altogether on the favour and aſſiſtance of the people of the Realm, whom he knew to be generally male-contented, and eager to change their preſent Governors for any that would but promiſe them a Melioration of their Condition for the future.

Yet being wary not to puſh things on beyond

poſſibility of a Retreat; As he did not preſently Land, but lay Cruiſing up and down, ſometimes appearing on one Coaſt, and ſometimes on another; that he might the better diſcover how the Inclinations of the people ſtood, and what Forces were ready either to receive or reſiſt him, till at laſt being ſatisfied therein, he put on ſhore without any oppoſition about the beginning of *June*, at *Ravenſpurre* in *Yorkſhire*; So did he not then make any pretenſions to the Crown, but gave out very ſolemnly, that he came only to regain poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and the reſt of his lawful Inheritance, which all the Nation knew was wrongfully detained from him, and ſo were the more ready to pity and favour him in a Cauſe notoriouſly juſt, and againſt which there was no objection.

His Arrival was no ſooner known, but there repaired to him the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Roſs*, *Darcy*, and *Beaumont*, and ſhortly after at *Doncaſter*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son Sir *Henry Peircy*, with the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and common people.

Intelligence hereof being ſoon conveyed to the Duke of *York*, the Kings eldeſt Uncle, and with whom during his abſence he had intruſted the Governance of the Realm: He calls together the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* Lord Chancellor, *Scroop* Earl of *Wiltſhire* Lord Treaſurer, Sir *John Buſhy*, Sir *Henry Green*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *John Ruſſel*, chief Favourites of the Kings Privy Council, to conſult what was to be done in this Exigency of Affairs. Amongſt whom, whether deſignedly

ſignedly by ſome, or ignorantly by others, I cannot ſay; but I am ſure by all perniciouſly for King *Richards* Intereſt; It was concluded to abandon *London*, and appoint the Rendezvous for levying Forces againſt the Duke at S. *Albans*. But when the people out of ſundry Counties were drawn thither to be Muſtered, they declared, *They would not act any thing to the prejudice of the ſaid Duke*, who they affirmed was unjuſtly expelled his Country, and unlawfully kept from his Inheritance.

This Refuſal of the Commons to ſerve, being looked upon as a very *ill Omen* to the Kings Cauſe; The Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Sir *John Buſhy*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, forſook the Duke of *York*, and fled to *Briſtol* intending to paſs the Seas into *Ireland* to the King: And time it was, (eſpecially for them) to take their Heels, for theſe Four were thoſe that were ſaid to have taken of the King his Kingdom *to Farm*, and on that account and other Grievances and Oppreſſions, which they had occaſioned, were become ſo odious to the people, that their very preſence turned away many of the Subjects hearts from their Soveraign, it being the diſpleaſure againſt them, rather than any diſatisfaction to the *Kings Perſon*, that cauſed this general Revolt. The Duke of *York* ſeeing their flight, and the Humour of the Generality favouring *Lancaſter*, and loath to run the adventure of an improbable Reſiſtance, gave over the Cauſe, and thereupon the reſt of the Counſellors either openly declared for the ſaid Duke, or ſecretly held Correſpondence with him, reſolving to ſwim with the general Torrent,

in hopes of greater ſafety thereby, than by ſtemming that impetuous Tide which bore down all before it.

For never did *Snow-ball* encreaſe ſo faſt by rolling, as the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Forces were augmented by his March, ſo that they were quickly grown Sixty thouſand ſtrong, and he reſolving to follow the *Channel* whilſt the *Current* was fierce, haſtned with his Troops to *London*, that poſſeſſing himſelf thereof, being the chief place within the Kingdom for *Strength* and *Store*, he might beſt there make the Seat of War, and be eaſieſt accommodated both with *Proviſion* and *Ammunition*. In his whole March no Oppoſition was ſeen, no hoſtility ſhewn, but all along Gentlemen of the beſt quality out of *Affection* or *Fear*, or hope of *Reward* reſorted to his Tents; and where ever he ſtayed *rich Preſents* were made him, and his Army ſupplied with Neceſſaries even to ſuperfluity, and particularly at *London* he was received with *Triumphant Pageants* and *Shews*, ſolemn *Proceſſions* of the Clergy, and loud Acclamations of the People.

But he was more reguardfull of his Affairs than to ſtay long there, and therefore having fix'd the Citizens firm to his Intereſt, and knowing all the danger that could threaten him, muſt be from King *Richards* return out of *Ireland*. To obviat that, and overtake the fugitive Favourites, who were fled to *Briſtol*, he with ſpeedy Marches purſued them thither: where finding the Caſtle fortified againſt him, he aſſaults it ſo briskly, that in Four daies time he forc'd it to a ſurrender, and taking therein the Earl of *Wiltſhire* Lord *Treaſurer*, Sir *John Buſhy*, and Sir *Henry Green*, he the very

very next day Sacrificed them to the importunate rage of the incenſed People, cauſing them all Three to be beheaded. But as for Sir *William Bagot*, he was got to *Cheſter*, and from thence ſhifting over into *Ireland*, alone, eſcaped the preſent vengeance; This Execution, if it had not been juſt, muſt yet be accounted Politick; For partly becauſe it was ſo greatefull to the People, and partly becauſe it excluded all hope of the Kings Pardon; It became a great ingagement to all the Dukes followers, to adhere more firmly to him for the future.

The Duke had now been Six Weeks in *England*, and the whole Land in effect had ſubmitted to him; during all with time, there was no news of King *Richard*, whether it were that by reaſon of contrary Winds he had no Intelligence, as ſome write; or that on the firſt advice, he ſlighted it, according to the Humour of ſome weak Spirits; who condemn dangers remote, but are aſtoniſhed at them, when they approach too nigh; However, at laſt upon certain news, in what an hazardous condition his affairs ſtood, he cauſed the Sons of the Dukes of *Gloceſter*, and *Lancaſter*, to be impriſoned in *Trim Caſtle*, and determined forthwith for *England*; but the Duke of *Aumerle* his Principal Counſellor, perſwaded him to ſtay till all his preparations were ready: Which fatal Counſel it was King *Richard*'s ill Deſtiny to follow, yet preſently ſent over the Earl of *Salisbury* to raiſe him an Army in *Wales* and *Cheſhire* againſt his own coming, which he ſolemnly promiſed ſhould be within ſix days at furtheſt. The Earl imployed his pains ſo well that he had ſoon gotten together

Forty

Forty thouſand men; but the ſix days and more being elaps'd, and the King not appearing, made them murmur and ſuſpect he was dead, or come to ſome diſaſter: but the Earl perſwaded them to have patience ſome few days longer, which being likewiſe expired, and no tidings of him, they then in diſcontent broke up and retired to their reſpective homes.

At length, eighteen days after he had ſent away the Earl, the King took Shipping attended with *Aumerle*, *Exeter*, *Surry*, the Biſhop of *London*, *Exeter*, and *Carliſle*, and others of the Nobility, and landed in *Wales*, having about him a competent number of *Cheſhire*-men: But when he underſtood that the other Forces he expected to joyn with him were baulk'd and disbanded; that moſt of his Fortreſſes from *Scotland* to *Briſtol*, had ſurrendred to *Lancaſter*; that the *Londoners* eſpouſed his Intereſt; that the greateſt number of the Nobility and Commons almoſt in general took part with him; and eſpecially that his *principal Counſellors* had loſt their Heads at *Briſtol*, he was ſo far from retaining the *Magnanimity of a King*, that he almoſt left off to be *a man*, and totally abandoned himſelf to *deſpair*. Perplext in uncertainties, either where to ſtay, or whither to ſtir, deſtitute both of Knowledge and Reſolution in himſelf for ſuch amazing Difficulties, and obnoxious to weak, wavering, and unfaithfull *Counſels* from others; ſome adviſed him to march further into the Land, before thoſe Forces he had fell from him, alledging that Fortune ſeconds Valour: That in all places he ſhould find ſome, who out of duty or affection, or for hire, would follow

low his Standard, which was illuſtrated with Majeſty, and guarded with Right: Others perſwaded him to go back into *Ireland*, or over to his Father-in-law of *France*, and thence to return when the *Paroxiſm* was a little over, and himſelf better ſtrengthned. But the King unacquainted with Martial Affairs, rejected both *Counſels*, and taking a *middle courſe* (which always in *Extreams* of that kind is the worſt) reſolved to ſtay in *Wales* to attend to what *Head* this *Humour* would riſe.

His Souldiers endeavoured to encourage him to venture a *Battel*, vowing they would live and die with him; but this could not at all raiſe his drooping Spirits, but in the Night he ſtole away from his Army, and with the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Sir *Stephen Scroop*, and half a ſcore more, retired to the Caſtle of *Conway*, where the Earl of *Worceſter* Steward of His Majeſties Houſhold, ſeeing his Maſters Affairs in that deſperate ſtate, or to revenge the Proclaiming of his Brother the Earl of *Northumberland* Traytor (as before was mentioned at the Kings going for *Ireland*) did openly in the Hall before all the Kings Servants break his *white Staff of Office*, and forthwith repaired to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; and the reſt of the *Royal Retinue* by his Example ſcattered and ſhifted every one for himſelf. Such *Court-flies* and treacherous Attendants being but like *Crows* to a *dead Carkaſs*, who flock to it, not to defend it, but to devour it; for no ſooner have they pickt off the fleſh to the bones, and find no more ſuſtenance, but they are upon the wing to be gone.

The

The Duke of *Lancaſter* upon Advice of King *Richards* Arrival out of *Ireland*, left the Duke of *York* (who was now joyned with him) at *Briſtol*, and marched in the Head of his Troops to *Gloceſter*, then to *Roſs*, afterwards to *Hereford*, (where repaired to him the Biſhop of that *See*, and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*) on the *Sunday* following he went to *Leymſter*, and there the Lord *Carleton* came to him, from thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next day to *Shrewsbury*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert* and Sir *John Leigh*, and other Perſons of Quality, being ſent from *Cheſter* to offer him their Service; as alſo the Lord *Scales* and the Lord *Bardolph* out of *Ireland*.

From *Shrewsbury* he repaireſl to *Cheſter*, where he diſpatcht an *Expreſs* into *Ireland*, to fetch over his Son and Heir, and likewiſe the Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Son and Heir; both whom King *Richard* had left in Cuſtody there: but it ſeems their Keepers durſt no longer detain them after *Lancaſter* commanded them thence, for his Son ſoon after arrived here, but the other *young Gentleman* was unfortunately caſt away at Sea.

About this time, the King ſeeing himſelf ſo beſet and ſtraitned, that he could neither *Reſiſt*, nor *Eſcape*, deſired a Conference with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, from whoſe Negotiation he conld certainly hope for little good, ſince the one he had formerly baniſht, and proclaimed the other a *Traytor*; however they upon ſafe Conduct coming to him, declared, That if it might pleaſe his Majeſty to promiſe that a *Parliament ſhould be*

Aſſem-

Aſſembled, and in the ſame *Juſtice done*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* and his Followers receive a General Pardon, ſince what they had done was for the Publick Weal of the Realm; the Duke would be ready to *caſt himſelf at his feet*, and as an humble Subject obey him in all dutiful Services. But the King whether perceiving that all this was but *Complement*, and thinking more to oblige them by an early *voluntary offer* of what he ſaw he muſt be forc'd to part with; or whether confounded in himſelf he grew weary of wearing a Crown, that he was not able to ſupport; required only that himſelf and eight more whom he would name, might have an honourable Allowance, with Aſſurance of a private quiet Life, and then he would *Reſign the Crown*; which was readily condeſcended unto, and the King alſo deſiring to ſpeak with the Duke, was removed to *Flint Caſtle*.

Soon after the Duke arriving there with his Army, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Earl of *Worceſter*, were ſent before to the King, who ſpying them from the Walls where he ſtood, went down to meet them, and obſerving that they did their accuſtomed *Reverence* to him on their knees, courteouſly took them up, and had ſome private diſcourſe with the Archbiſhop.

After a ſmall ſpace, the Duke of *Lancaſter* himſelf all Arm'd, approached the Caſtle, and being within the firſt Gate, he there repoſed himſelf, till the King attended with the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroop*, who bore the Sword before him, came forth and ſate down

down in a place prepared for him. As ſoon as the Duke ſaw his Majeſty, he came towards him *bowing his knee*, and advancing forwards, did ſo a ſecond, and a third time, and then the King took him by the hand and lift him up, ſaying, —— *Dear Couſin, thou art welcom*; the Duke humbly thanking him, anſwered, —— *My Soveraign Lord and King, the Cauſe of my coming at this preſent is (your Honour ſaved) to have Reſtitution of my Perſon, my Land and Inheritance.* To which the King replyed, —— *Dear Couſin, I am ready to accompliſh your will, ſo that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception.* After this coming forth of the Caſtle, the King called for *Wine*, and having drank, they mounted and rod to *Cheſter*, and ſo by ſeveral Stages, he was carried directly and with great Expedition to *London*, and lodged on pretence of *State*, but in truth for better ſecurity, in the *Tower*; having not in all that Journey changed his Apparel, but wore only one ſuite, and that but an ordinary one, whereas he was wont to be extraordinary profuſe in his Cloaths, having one Coat valued at *Thirty thouſand Marks*.

The King yielded himſelf the Thirtieth day of *Auguſt*, being but the Seven and fortieth day after the Dukes Arrival in *England*, ſo that he might well aſſume *Cæſars* Motto, *Veni, vidi, viti:* For For conſidering his Marches from *Holderneſs* in the *North* up to *London*, and from thence to *Briſtol*, and ſo into *Wales*, and back again to *Cheſter*; a man can ſcarce travel over ſo much ground in the ſpace that he Conquered it: Nay ſo indulgent was Fortune to him, that all the Kings Jewels and Treaſure (amounting as a late Author aſſerts, to

Seven

Seven hundred thouſand pounds) with his Horſes and Baggage fell into his hands.

The King being thus ſafely lodg'd in the *Tower*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* (but in King *Richards* Name) cauſed Writs to be iſſued forth for ſummoning and chooſing a *Parliament* to be held at *Weſtminſter* on the laſt day of *September* following. And in the mean time conſults with his neareſt Kindred and Friends how to ſteer his Proceedings, ſo as to bring his Affairs by prudence to a lucky end, which had hitherto even beyond his hopes been favoured by *Fortune*. In order to which, the Duke of *York*, who but a little before had been Governor of the Realm for the King, but now his the ſaid *Lancaſters* great Director, muſt be his beſt *Oracle*, who after divers Debates propoſed it as very expedient, that King *Richard* ſhould both voluntarily Reſign, and alſo be ſolemnly Depoſed by the Eſtates of the Realm; For otherwiſe, Reſignation would be imputed only to his Fear, and Deprivation only to their Force, whereof the one is always apt to move Pity, and the other ſtir up Envy: But if both concur, and his Deſire be combined with his Deſerts, being willing to forſake that which he is adjudged worthy to forfeit, then it will appear that he is neither expelled his Kingdom by meer Conſtraint, nor leaveth it without juſt Cauſe.

This Advice was generally approved, and accordingly purſued; a ſolemn *Renunciation* being tendred unto the King, and by him Signed on *Michaelmas* Day then next following, being the day before the *Parliament* was to meet. The *Words*, *Order*, and *Ceremony* whereof, and of the *Articles* exhi-

exhibited againſt Him, and his *Depoſition* thereupon following in *Parliament*, appear in the *Records* thereof remaining in the *Tower*, Authentick and Atteſted Copies whereof are Printed in the Book, Intituled, *Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ ſcriptores decem*; beginning *Col.* 2743. From whence the ſame are word for word Tranſlated, as follow.

The Roll of Parliament Summoned and Holden at *Weſtminſter*, in the Feaſt of S. *Fide* the *Virgin*, in the Firſt year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, after the Conqueſt, *Membrane* the 20th.

The Record *and* Proceſs *of the* Renunciation *of King* Richard *the Second, after the Conqueſt, and likewiſe the Acceptance of the ſame* Renunciation, *with the* Depoſition *of the ſame King* Richard *afterwards enſuing.*

BE it remembred, that on *Munday* the Feaſt of S. *Michael* the *Archangel*, in the Three and twentieth year of the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and other Perſons of note; that is to ſay, the Lord *Richard le Scrope* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Ralph* Earl of *Weſtmorland*; the Lord *Hugh le Burnel*, *Thomas* Lord *de Berkley* Prior of *Canterbury* and Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, *William Thyrning* Knight, and *John Markham* Juſtices; *Thomas Stow* and *John Burbache* Doctors of Laws, *Thomas de Erpingham*, and *Thomas Gray*, Knights, *William de Feryby*,

Feryby, and *Dioniſius Lapham*, Publick Notaries, firſt deputed to the Act under-written, by the Aſſent and Advice of ſeveral of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Judges and others skilful, as well in the Civil and Canon Law, as in the Laws of the Realm, Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* in the uſual place of Council; did about Nine of the Clock come to the Preſence of the ſaid King, being within the *Tower* of *London*: And it being Recited before the ſaid King, by the ſaid Earl of *Northumberland*, in the behalf of all the reſt before named, ſo as aforeſaid joyned with him; How the ſaid King heretofore at *Conway* in *North-Wales*, being at Liberty, did promiſe unto the Lord *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, that he would yield up and renounce the Crown of *England* and *France*, and his Regal Majeſty, for Cauſes of his *Inability* and *Inſufficiency* there by the ſaid King himſelf confeſſed, and that in the beſt manner and form as the ſame could be done, as Councel learned ſhould beſt order. The ſaid King before the ſaid Lords and others above named, hereunto benignly anſwering, *That he would with effect accompliſh, what before in that behalf he had promiſed.* But deſired to have ſome diſcourſe with his Couſins, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, before he fulfilled ſuch his Promiſe.

Afterwards the ſame day after Dinner, the ſaid King much affecting the coming of the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter*, and having long waited for him; at laſt the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lords, and others above named, and alſo the ſaid Archbi-

ſhop of *Canterbury*, did come to the Preſence of the ſaid King in the *Tower* aforeſaid; the Lords *de Roos*, *de Willoughby*, and *de Abergeney*, and very many others being then there preſent; and after the ſaid King had had diſcourſe with the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter* and Archbiſhop, exhibiting a *merry Countenance* here and there amongſt them to part thereof, as appeared to thoſe that ſtood round about; at laſt the ſaid King calling to him all that were there preſent, did publickly ſay before them, that he was ready to make the Renunciation, and to renounce and recede, according to the Promiſe by him made as aforeſaid. And ſo forthwith, although, as was ſaid unto him, he might have made ſome Deputy to have ſerved as the Organ of his Voice, for avoiding ſo tedious a labour as the reading of the ſaid Ceſſion and Renunciation, reduced by others into a Schedule of Parchment. Yet the ſaid King, very willingly as appeared, and with a *pleaſant Countenance*, holding the ſaid Schedule in his hand, ſaid, *That he himſelf would read it*, and diſtinctly read the ſame through: And alſo did abſolve all his Leige People, and renounce, and recede, and ſwear, and other things did ſay and pronounce in Reading, and did Subſcribe it with his own hand, as is more fully contained in the ſaid Schedule; the Tenor whereof is ſuch.

THE

THE RESIGNATION OF RICHARD II.

IN the Name of God, Amen. *I* Richard *by the Grace of God, King of* England *and* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *do* Abſolve *the* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *and other* Prelates *of* Churches *Secular or Regular, of whatſoever Dignity, Degree, State, or Condition they be; The Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, Vaſſals, and Valvaſors, and all and every my Leige People whatſoever, Eccleſiaſticks or Seculars, of all the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, by what Name ſoever they are known; from the* Oath of Fealty and Homage, *and* other Oaths *whatſoever to me made, and from all* Bond *or* Tye of Leigiance, Royalty, *and* Dominion, *whereby they have been or are obliged, or otherwiſe in any manner bound unto me. And I do* Free, Releaſe, *and* Acquit *them and their* Heirs *and* Succeſſors *for ever, from the ſaid* Oaths *and other* Obligations *whatſoever. And I do diſmiſs them free, unlooſen, quit and in full* Immunity,

as far as relates to my Perſon, to every effect of Law which may follow from the Premiſſes, or any of them. And I do purely of my own Accord *ſimply and abſolutely in and by the beſt manner, way and form that may be, in theſe Writings,* Renounce and totally Reſign *all Kingly Dignity and Majeſty, and the Crown and Dominion and Power of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, and all other my Dominions and Poſſeſſions, or any way belonging or appertaining unto me, by what Name ſoever they may be reckon'd up within the aforeſaid Kingdoms, or elſewhere; And all Right and Colour of Right and Title, Poſſeſſion and Dominion, which at any time I have had, now have, or by any means ſhall have in or to the ſame, or any of them, with their univerſal Rights and Appurtenances, or any Dependances however, on them or any of them: And alſo the Rule and Government of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, and their Adminiſtration, and all manner of* meer and mixt Empire and Juriſdiction *to me in the ſaid Kingdoms belonging, or that may be belonging; and to the Name of* King, *and the Honour, Regality, and Celſitude Royal, purely, voluntarily, ſimply, and abſolutely by the beſt manner, way and form that the ſame can be done in theſe Writings, I do* Renounce, *and them do totally Reſign, and in Deed and in Word*

diſmiſs

diſmiſs and quit the ſame, and from them do recede for ever. **Saving** *to my Succeſſors Kings of* England, *the Rights to them or any of them belonging, or that ſhall any way belong, in the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, and all other the Premiſſes for ever. And I do confeſs, acknowledge, repute, and truly and out of* certain knowledge, *do judge my ſelf to have been and to be utterly* inſufficient *and* unuſefull *for the Rule and Government of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, with all their Appurtenances: And that for my* notorious Demerits *I deſerve to be Depoſed. And I do ſwear upon theſe* Holy Goſpels *of God, by me corporally touch'd, That I will never Act contrary to the ſaid Reſignation, Renunciation, Diſmiſſion, and Ceſſion; nor any way oppoſe the ſame in Deed or in Word, by my Self or any other or others: Nor will as much as in me lies, permit the ſame publickly or privately to be contraried or oppoſed: But the ſaid* Renunciation, Reſignation, Dimiſſion and Ceſſion, *will for ever eſteem, ratified, and well-pleaſing, and firmly hold and obſerve the ſame in the whole and in every part; So* God me help, *and theſe* Holy Goſpels of God.

I the before named King Richard *do here ſubſcribe my Self with my own Hand.*

And preſently to the ſaid Renunciation, and Ceſſion, the ſaid King added by word of mouth, *That if it lay in his power, the ſaid Duke of Lancaſter ſhould ſucceed him in his Kingdom.* But becauſe, (as he ſaid,) this did not depend on his pleaſure, he did requeſt the ſaid Archbiſhop of *York*, and Biſhop of *Hereford*, (whom he for that time had conſtituted his Procurators, to declare, and intimate ſuch his Ceſſion and Renunciation to the States of the Kingdom,) *That they would be pleaſed to ſignify to the People, his will and intention in that behalf.* And in token of ſuch his will and intention, did then and there, openly pluck off the Golden Ring of his ſignet, from his own finger, and put it upon *the finger of the ſaid Duke of Lancaſter*, deſiring as he affirmed, that the ſame might be made known to all the States of the Kingdom. Which being done, taking their leaves on both ſides, they all went out of the ſaid Tower, to return to their Lodgings.

But on the morrow, viz. *Tueſday* the Feaſt of S. *Jerome*, in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, in the place honourably prepared for holding the Parliament, the ſaid Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, and *York*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and other Dukes, and Lords, as well Spiritual, as Temporal, whoſe names are under written, and the Commons of the ſaid Kingdom, Aſſembled in a great multitude in parliament, being preſent, and the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter*, being ſeated in a place, due to his Quality, and the *Chair of State* [or Royal Throne,] being ſolemnly adorned with Cloth of Gold, but then empty, without any body preſideing therein; the above named Archbiſhop of *York*, in the name of himſelf, and of the ſaid Biſhop of *Hereford*,

Hereford, according to the Order of the ſaid King, did publickly declare the Ceſſion, and Renunciation, to have been ſo made by him as aforeſaid, with the ſubſcription of his Royal Hand, and delivery of his Signet. And the ſaid Ceſſion, and Renunciation, did there cauſe to be read by another, firſt in *Latin*, and then in *Engliſh*.

Immediately after which, it was demanded of the Eſtates and People there preſent, (to wit, firſt of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to whom by reaſon of the dignity, and prerogative of his metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*, it belongs in this behalf, to have the firſt voice amongſt the reſt of the Prelates, and Nobles of the Realm,) whether *for their intereſt and the utility of the Kingdom, they would be pleaſed to admit ſuch Renunciation, and Ceſſion.* And the ſaid States, and People, judging from the Cauſes by the ſaid King himſelf, in his Renunciation, and Ceſſion aforeſaid, ſignified, that the ſame was very expedient, did each man ſingly by himſelf, and in Common with the People, unanimouſly Admit the ſaid Ceſſion, and Renunciation.

After which Admiſſion, it was then and there publickly declared, that beſides ſuch Ceſſion, and Renunciation, ſo as aforeſaid admitted, It would be very expedient and profitable to the Kingdom, for the removing of all ſcruples, and taking away ſiniſter ſuſpicions, That very many Crimes, and Defects by the ſaid King, (about the ill Governance of his Kingdom) very often committed, reduced into writing by way of Articles, by reaſon of which (as himſelf affirmed in the Ceſſion, by him made) he was deſervedly to be depoſed, ſhould be publickly read, and declared to the Peo-

ple.

ple. And ſo the greateſt part of the ſaid Articles, were then and there read through. The Tenour of all which Articles is ſuch.

[*But yet in the Roll before the Articles, there are firſt theſe words,*] Here followeth the form of the Oath, uſed and accuſtomed to be taken by the Kings of *England*, at their Coronation: which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hath uſed to require and receive from the ſaid Kings, as in the Books of the Pontifical Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, more fully is contained.

Which Oath, *Richard* the Second, after the Conqueſt of *England*, did take at his Coronation: and the ſame was adminiſtred by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the very ſame Oath, the King afterwards repeated, as in the Rolls of the *Chancery*, may more fully be found of Record.

Thou ſhalt keep to the Church of God, and People, Intire Peace and Concord in God, according to thy power. The King ſhall anſwer, *I will keep them.*

Thou ſhalt in all thy Judgements cauſe to be done, equal and right Juſtice, and diſcretion, in mercy, and in Truth, according to thy power.—He ſhall anſwer, *I will ſo do.*

Thou doſt grant the juſt Laws, and Cuſtomes, as ſhall be held, and doſt promiſe the ſame ſhall by thee be protected, and for the Honour of God Corroborated, quas vulgus elegerit, *which the People ſhall chuſe, to the utmoſt of thy power.*—He ſhall anſwer, *I do ſo grant and promiſe.*

To the aforeſaid Queſtions, ſuch others are added as ſhall be juſt, and all things being ſo pronounced, the King by his own Oath on the Altar, before all the Aſſembly, Confirms and Promiſes, that he will keep and obſerve the ſame. Then

[Then follow]

THE OBJECTIONS or ARTICLES

Againſt the King, touching his Depoſition.

I *Mprimis*, It is objected againſt King *Richard*, that whereas by reaſon of his ill Government, *viz.* His giving away the Goods and Poſſeſſions belonging to his Crown, and that to Perſons unworthy, and his indeſcreet ſquandring the ſame away otherwiſe, and to that end, impoſing without cauſe Collections and other greivous burthens on his People, more than they were able to bear, and alſo innumerable other Evils by his aſſent and Command perpetrated, there were by the whole Parliament certain Prelates, and others, Temporal Lords, Elected and Aſſigned, who might with all their power, and at their own Charges, faithfully labour about the juſt Government of the Realm. Yet the King cauſing a Conventicle to be held by him, with his accomplices, the ſaid Lords, as well Spiritual, as Temporal, ſo occupyed about the ſafety, and profit of the Kingdom, did propoſe to Impeach of High Treaſon; and did violently draw the Judges of the Kingdom, for fear of Death, and Corporal Tortures, to ſuch his wicked purpoſe, moſt vigorioufly ſtriving to deſtroy the ſaid Lords.

II. *Item*, the ſaid King lately at *Shrewsbury*, cauſed ſeveral, and the greater part of the Judges, to come

come before him, and his Favourites privately in a Chamber, and by Menaces, and Various Terrors, and ſuch affrightments as might fall even upon men of conſtant Reſolutions, did induce, cauſe, and compel them, ſeverally to anſwer certain Queſtions there propounded, on the behalf of the King; concerning the Laws of his Kingdom, beſides, and againſt their will, and otherwiſe than they would have anſwered, had they been at Liberty, and unforc'd. By colour of which anſwers, the ſaid King purpoſed to have proceeded afterwards, to the deſtruction of *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Warwick*, and other Lords, againſt whoſe deeds and behaviour the ſaid King was much incenſed, chiefly becauſe they deſired the ſaid King to be under good Guidance; But Providence withſtanding it, by the reſiſtance and power of the ſaid Lords, the King was not able to bring ſuch his deſign to effect.

III. *Item*, when the Lords Temporal defending themſelves, had withſtood his malice and fraud, and the ſaid King had prefix'd a day for holding his Parliament, to do them, and other Inhabitants of the Realm, Juſtice in that behalf, and the ſaid Temporal Lords, were quietly and peaceably gone home, and at reſt in their Houſes, in hope and confidence of the ſaid Parliament, the King ſecretly ſent the Duke of *Ireland* with his Letters and Standard towards *Cheſter*, and there gathered multitudes in Arms, and cauſed them to riſe againſt the ſaid Lords, the Nobles of the Kingdome, and Servants of the State, publickly erecting his Standard, againſt the Peace which he had ſworn to keep. From whence ſlaughters of men, Captivities, Diſſentions,

and

and other infinite miſchiefs, did enſue throughout the whole Kingdom, By which Act he became Guilty of Perjury.

IV. *Item*, Although the ſaid King had in full Parliament, and by the Aſſent thereof, Pardoned the ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Earls of *Arundel*, and *Warwick*, and all their Aſſiſtants, and others, all offences, and had for many years ſhown Signs of Peace and Love, to the ſaid Duke and Earls, and to the reſt appeared with a pleaſant and benigne Countenance. Yet the ſaid King always, and continually bearing Gall in his Heart, did at laſt, taking an Opportunity, cauſe the ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Uncle of him the ſaid King and alſo the Son of *Edward* late King of *England*, of happy memory, and Conſtable of *England*, then humbly going to meet the ſaid King, in ſolemn Proceſſion; and the ſaid Earls of *Arundel*, and *Warwick*, to be taken and Arreſted; and him the ſaid Duke out of the Kingdom of *England*, to the Town of *Callice*, did cauſe to be led, and there impriſoned, and under the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Nottingham*, (one of the Appellors of the ſaid Duke,) detained, and without anſwer, or any lawfull proceſs whatſoever, did inhumanly, and cruelly cauſe to be ſuffocated, ſtrangled, and *murdred*. And the Earl of *Arundel*, though he pleaded as well the General Pardon, as a Pardon afterwards to him ſpecially granted, and deſired juſtice to be done him, yet in his Parliament, encompaſſed with armed men, and innumerable Archers of the People by him gathered to that purpoſe by Preſſing, did damnably cauſe to be Beheaded. And the Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Cobham*, did commit to perpetual Impriſonment: wickedly

wickedly and againſt Juſtice, and the Laws of his Kingdom, and his expreſs Oath, confiſcating their Lands and Tenements, as well Fee-ſimple, as Fee-tail, from them and their Heirs, and giving the ſame to their Appellors.

V. *Item*, At the ſame time, that the King in his Parliament, cauſed the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and Earls of *Arundel*, and *Warwick*, to be adjudged, that he might more freely Exerciſe his Cruelty upon them, and accompliſh his injurious will in other matters, he gathered to himſelf a great multitude of Malefactors of the County of *Cheſter*, of whom ſome paſſing with the King through the Kingdome, as well within the Kings pallace, as without, did cruelly kill the Liege Subjects of the Kingdom, and ſome they beat and wounded, and did plunder the Goods of the People, and refuſe to pay for their Victuals, and did Raviſh and Violate their Wives, and other Women; and though there were greivous Complaints, of ſuch their exceſſes brought to the hearing of the ſaid King; Yet the ſaid King did not regard to cauſe Juſtice to bee done, or any Remedy thereupon, but did favour the ſaid Troops in ſuch their evil doings, truſting in them and their Guard, againſt all others of his Kingdom; for which cauſe, the faithfull People of his Kingdom, had great matter of Commotion, and Indignation.

VI. *Item*, Although the ſaid King by his writs, cauſed Proclamation to be made throughout the whole Kingdom, that he had cauſed his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, to be taken and Arreſted, not for any Aſſemblings, or Troopings by them, formerly made within

within the Kingdom of *England*, but for very many Extortions, Oppreſſions, and other things by them afterwards done, and perpetrated, againſt his Royalty, and Kingly Majeſty; And that it was not his Intention, that any of the Family of the ſaid Duke, and Earls, or of their followers at the time of ſuch Aſſembling, and Trooping, ſhould for that occaſion be moleſted, or aggreived; Yet the ſaid King at laſt, in his Parliament, did not Impeach the ſaid Lords for Extortions, Oppreſſions, or any ſuch matters, but for the Aſſemblings, and Troopings aforeſaid, did adjudge them to Death, and very many of the Family of the ſaid Lords, and others, who were following them at the time of ſuch their Aſſembling, and Trooping, he did, for fear of Death, force to make Fine and Ranſom, as Traytors, or Rebels, to the great deſtruction of a great Number of his People. And ſo he did ſubtlely, fraudulently, and maliciouſly deceive the ſaid Lords, and their familiars, and the People of his Kingdom.

VII. *Item*, After very many of thoſe Perſons ſo making Fine and Ranſom, had obtained of the King, his Letters Patent of full Pardon in the Premiſes, they could not reap any Commodity by ſuch Letters of Pardon, till they had made new Fines, and Ranſoms, for ſaving of their Life, whereby very many were Impoveriſhed; which was a great Derogation and diſhonour, to the Name and State of a King.

VIII. *Item*, In the laſt Parliament, held at *Shrewsbury*, the ſaid King purpoſing to oppreſs his People, ſubtlely procured, and cauſed it to be granted, that the *power of the Parliament, by the conſent of the States,*

of

of his Kingdome, ſhould remain in certain Perſons, to determine (after the diſſolution of the Parliament,) certain Petitions in the ſaid Parliament exhibited, but then not diſpatched. By Colour of which grant, the Perſons ſo deputed, proceeded to other things generally touching that Parliament. And this with the will of the King; in Derogation of the ſtate of Parliament, and the great damage of the whole Kingdome, and pernitious Example. And that they might ſeem to have ſome Colour and Authority, for ſuch their doings, the King cauſed the Parliament Rolls to be altered and blotted at his pleaſure, againſt the Effect of the ſaid Grant.

IX. *Item*, Notwithſtanding the ſaid King in his Coronation had ſworn, *that in all his Judgments, he would cauſe to be done equal and right Juſtice, and diſcretion, in mercy and truth, according to his power* Yet the ſaid King rigoriouſly without all mercy did (amongſt other things) Ordain, under greivous penalties, that none ſhould ſue for any favour, or intercede with the ſaid King, for *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, being Baniſhed, whereby the ſaid King did act againſt the Bond of Charity, raſhly violating his Oath aforeſaid.

X. *Item*, Although the Crown of the Kingdom of *England*, and the Rights of the ſaid Crown, and that Kingdome it ſelf, have in all time paſt, been ſo free, that our Lord the *Pope*, nor any other without the Kingdom, ought to concern himſelf about the ſame; Yet the aforeſaid King, for the Corroboration of ſuch his erronious ſtatutes, did make ſupplication to our Lord the *Pope*, that he would confirm the ſtatutes ordained his laſt Parliament, whereupon our Lord the King obtained the *Apoſtolick*

ſtolick Letters, in which greivous Cenſures are denounced againſt any that ſhould preſume in any thing to act contrary to the ſaid ſtatutes; all which are well known to tend againſt the Crown, and Royal dignity, and againſt the Statutes and Liberties of the ſaid Kingdom.

XI. *Item*, Although the Lord *Henry* now Duke of *Lancaſter*, by the Kings Command had preferred his *Bill* touching the *State and Honour of the King*, againſt the *Duke of Norfolk*, and the ſame had duly proſecuted; ſo that according to the Kings Order, he had exhibited himſelf in all Points prepared for the *Combate*. And the ſaid King had declared, that the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter* had honourably performed his *Devoir* as much as in him lay, and this by a *Decree* publickly Proclaimed before all the people Aſſembled at the ſaid *Combate*: Yet the ſaid King without any Legal Reaſon whatſoever, did cauſe and command the ſaid Duke to be *Baniſht* for ten Years, againſt all Juſtice, and the Laws and Cuſtoms of his Kingdom, and the Law of War in that behalf, thereby damnably incurring Perjury.

XII. *Item*, After the ſaid King had graciouſly granted by his Letters Patents, to the Lord *Henry* now Duke of *Lancaſter*, that in his abſence whilſt he was *baniſht*, his General Attorneys might proſecute for *Livery* to him to be made of all manner of Inheritances or Succeſſions belonging unto him, and that his *Homage* ſhould be reſpited, paying a certain reaſonable *Fine*; he injuriouſly did revoke the ſaid Letters Patent, againſt the Laws of the Land, thereby incurring the Crime of Perjury.

XIII. *Item*,

XIII. *Item*, Notwithſtanding that it was *Enacted*, that every Year the *Officers* of the King with his Juſtices and others of the Kings Council, ſhould chooſe *Sheriffs* for all the Counties of *England*, and name them to our Lord the King, according as to their Diſcretion and Conſcience ſhould ſeem expedient, for the good and utility of the Kingdom, the ſaid King hath cauſed perſons to be made Sheriffs, *not ſo nominated or elected*, but others according to the *Capritio's* of his pleaſure, ſometimes his *Favourites* or *Creatures*, and ſometimes ſuch as he knew would not oppoſe his humour, for his own and others private advantage, to the great *grievance* of his People, and againſt the Laws of his Kingdom, thereby notoriouſly incurring Perjury.

XIV. *Item*, At ſuch time as the aforeſaid King requeſted and had of very many Lords and others of his Kingdom, divers Sums of Mony by way of *Loan*, to be paid again at a certain term, notwithſtanding the ſaid King faithfully promiſed by his ſeveral Letters Patent to the ſeveral perſons of whom he borrowed the ſaid Moneys, that at the term limited as aforeſaid, he would repay the ſame, yet he did not fulfill ſuch his Promiſe, nor are they yet ſatisfied the ſaid Moneys, whereby ſuch Creditors are much agrieved, and not only they, but many others of the Kingdom repute the King unfaithfull.

XV. *Item*,

XV. *Item* Whereas the King of *England* by the Revenue of his Kingdom, and the Patrimony belonging to his *Crown*, is able to live honeſtly, without the oppreſſion of his People, as long as the Kingdom is not burden'd with the Charge of *Wars*; yet the ſaid King in a manner for his whole time during the *Truces* between the Kingdom of *England* and its Adverſaries, hath not only given away a great, yea indeed the greateſt part of his ſaid Patrimony, and this to unworthy perſons: But alſo hath further impoſed on his Subjects ſo many Burdens of Moneys granted, as it were every year of his Reign, that thereby he hath extreamly and too exceſſively oppreſſed his People, to the Impoveriſhment of his Kingdom; Not converting the Goods ſo levied to the Commodity and profit of the Kingdom of *England*, but prodigally ſquandring it away for the Oſtentation of his Name, and in Pomp and vain-glory: Whilſt great Sums of Money are owing in his Kingdom for the *Victuals* of his Houſhold, and other things bought, though he hath abounded with Riches and Treaſures more than any of his Progenitors.

XVI. *Item*, The ſaid King not willing to keep or Protect the juſt Laws and Cuſtoms of his Kingdom, but according to his Arbitrary Will, to do whatſoever ſhould occur to his Deſires, ſometimes and very often, when the Laws of his Kingdom have been expounded and declared to him by the Judges and others of his Council; and that they have deſired that he would do Juſtice according to thoſe Laws, hath expreſly and with an angry and haughty Countenance, ſaid, *That his Laws were in his Mouth*, and ſometimes, *That they were in his*

Breaſt: And that *he himſelf alone could make and change the Laws of his Kingdom.* And being ſeduced with that Opinion, did not ſuffer Juſtice to be done to very many of his Liege People, but by Threats and Terrors hath forced very many to ceaſe from the proſecution of Common Juſtice.

XVII. *Item*, That after certain Statutes had been made in *Parliament*, which always bind, till they are ſpecially revok'd by the Authority of another Parliament. The ſaid King deſiring to enjoy ſuch Liberty that no ſuch Statutes ſhould ſo bind him, but that he might do and execute his pleaſure, ſubtlely procured a Petition to be preferred in his *Parliament* on the behalf of the *Commonalty* of his *Kingdom*, and to be granted to him in general, *That he might be as free as any of his Progenitors were before him:* By colour of which *Petition* and *Conceſſion*, the ſaid *King* hath very often commanded very many things to be done againſt ſuch Statutes unrepealed; acting therein expreſly and knowingly againſt his *Oath* taken in his *Coronation* as aforeſaid.

XVIII. *Item*, Although it was *Enacted* and *Ordained*, that no *Sheriff* ſhould hold his *Office* above *one year* together, but that three years ſhould paſs, before he ſhould be again admitted to that *Office:* The ſaid *King Richard* ſometimes for his own *ſingle Commodity*, and ſometimes at the inſtance of *others*, for their advantage, hath permitted and cauſed certain Sheriffs to ſtand aud remain continually in their *Offices*, ſometimes two, ſometimes three Years, againſt the Tenor and effect of the Statute aforeſaid, thereby incurring *Perjury*; and this is notorious, publick, and generally ill ſpoken of.

XIX. *Item*

XIX. *Item*, Although by the *Statute* and *Cuſtom* of his Realm in the calling together of every *Parliament*, his People in the ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom ought to be *free* in chooſing and deputing two Knights to be preſent in ſuch Parliament for each reſpective County, and to declare their Grievances, and to proſecute ſuch *Remedies* thereupon, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient. Yet the aforeſaid King, that in his Parliaments he might be able more freely to accompliſh the effects of his head-ſtrong will, did very often direct his *Commands to his Sheriffs*, that they ſhould cauſe to come to his Parliaments as Knights of the Shire, certain Perſons by the ſaid King named; which Knights being his Favourites he might lead, as often as he had done, ſometimes by various *Menaces* and *Terrors*, and ſometimes by *Gifts*, to conſent to thoſe things as were *prejudicial* to the *Kingdom*, and exceeding burdenſom to the People; and eſpecially to grant to the ſaid King a *Subſidy* on Wooll for the *term of his life*, and another *Subſidy* for certain Years, thereby too grievouſly oppreſſing his People.

XX *Item*, The ſaid King that he might more freely fulfill and follow in every thing his own *Arbitrary Will*, did unlawfully cauſe and command, That the *Sheriffs* throughout his whole Realm, beſides their ancient *accuſtomed Oath*, ſhould *ſwear* that they would *obey all his Commands*, as often as they ſhould be directed to them, under his Great and Privy Seal, and alſo his Letters under his Signet. And that in caſe the ſaid Sheriffs could come to know that any within their *Bailiwicks* of whatſoever condition they were, had publickly or ſe-

cretly ſaid or ſpoken any ill, that might tend to the diſgrace or ſcandal of his *Royal Perſon*, they ſhould Arreſt and Impriſon them, there ſafely to be kept till they ſhould receive Command from the King to the contrary, as may be found in the Record; which Fact may probably tend to the deſtruction of many of the Liege People of the ſaid Kingdom.

XXI. *Item*, The ſaid *King* ſtriving to trample under foot his People, and ſubtlely to acquire their Goods to himſelf, that he might abound in ſuperfluous Riches, did cauſe the People of Seventeen Counties of the Realm to ſubmit themſelves to the *King* as *Traytors*, by Letters under their Seals: By colour whereof he got mighty Sums of Money to be granted him by the *Clergy* and *People* of thoſe Counties, for obtaining his Royal good Will and Favour; And though to pleaſe the People, the *King* had cauſed thoſe Obligatory Letters to be reſtored, yet the *Procurators* of the People having full power granted them to oblige themſelves and their Heirs to the ſaid *King*; he the ſaid *King* cauſed them under their Seals to be bound to him in the Name of the ſaid People, and ſo deceived his People, and ſubtlely extorted from them their Goods.

XXII. *Item*, Although the ſaid King in his *Coronation* had ſworn to keep the *Liberties* granted to the *Anglicane Church*, yet the ſaid *King* by reaſon of his Voyage into *Ireland*, did by his Letters command very many *Religious perſons*, viz. *Abbots* and *Priors* of his Kingdom, ſtrictly requiring, that ſome of them ſhould ſend to him certain *Horſes*, and ſome of them not only *Horſes*, but

but alſo *Waggons* and *Carriages* for his ſaid Voyage, or in lieu thereof great Sums of Money in the ſaid Letters expreſſed: By which manner of Writing he forced many of ſuch *Religious* out of fear to fulfill his Will and Command, whereby they were heavily *impoveriſht* and *oppreſt* in manifeſt derogation of *Eccleſiaſtical Liberty*; by which Pretext the ſaid *King Richard* did incur *Perjury*.

XXIII. *Item*, In moſt of the great Royal Councils, when the Lords of the Realm, the Judges and others, being charg'd that they would faithfully Counſel the *King* in Matters relating to his *State*, and that of his *Kingdom*: The ſaid Lords, Juſtices, and others, very often in giving Counſel according to their beſt Diſcretion, have been by the *King* ſuddenly and ſo *fiercely chidden* and *reproved*, that they have not dared to ſpeak the Truth, in giving their Advice for the *State* of the *King* and *Kingdom*.

XXIV. *Item*, The *Treaſure*, *Crowns*, *Reliques*, and other *Jewels*, viz. *The Goods of the Kingdom*, which time out of mind have been Repoſited in the Treaſury of the *Kingdom*, for the *Honour* of the *King*, and preſervation of his *Kingdom*, againſt any ſudden *Event* or *Exigency*; the ſaid *King* going out of his *Kingdom* into *Ireland*, did take away, and cauſed the ſame to be carried with him, *without the conſent of the States of the Kingdom*: Whereby this *Kingdom* had been vaſtly impoveriſht, if *God* by the retaking of the ſaid Goods againſt the ſaid *Kings* Will had not otherwiſe provided. And furthermore the ſaid *King* did cauſe *the Rolls of Records* touching the *State* and *Govern-*

ment of his *Kingdom* to be *deſtroyed* and *raſed*, to the great prejudice of his People and diſinheriting of the *Crown* of the ſaid *Kingdom*: And all this, as 'tis probably believed, in favour and ſupport of his *evil Governance*.

XXV. *Item*, The ſaid *King* was wont as it were perpetually to be ſo variable and diſſembling in his Words and Writings, and ſo contrary to himſelf, and eſpecially in writing to the *Pope*, and to *Kings*, and other Lords out of the *Kingdom*, and within it, and alſo to others his Subjects, that *no man living* that knew his Conditions could or would *confide* in him; nay, he was reputed ſo unfaithful and unconſtant, that it became *ſcandalous* not only to his own perſon, but alſo to the whole *Kingdom*, and eſpecially amongſt Foreigners of all the World that came to know the ſame.

XXVI. *Item*, Although *the Lands and Tenements, the Goods and Chattels of every Freeman by the Laws of the Realm uſed from all time heretofore*, ought not to be taken from him unleſs they be *forfeited*: Yet the ſaid *King* purpoſing and longing to weaken ſuch *Laws*, in the preſence of very many Lords and others of the Commonalty of the *Kingdom*, hath frequently ſaid and affirmed—*That the life of every one of his Subjects, and his Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels, are his* (the ſaid Kings) *at his will and pleaſure, without any forfeiture*; Which is utterly againſt the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Kingdom* aforeſaid.

XXVII. *Item*, Although it was Enacted and Ordained, and is hitherto Confirmed, *That no Freeman ſhall be taken*, &c. *nor any way deſtroyed*; *and that the King ſhall not paſs, nor ſend any to paſs upon*

upon him, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land: Yet by the Will, Command and Order of the ſaid *King*, very many of his Liege People being *malicioufly accuſed* for having publickly or ſecretly ſaid ſomething that might tend to the diſpraiſe, ſcandal, or diſgrace of the perſon of the ſaid *King*, have been taken and Impriſoned, and brought before the *Conſtable* and *Marſhal* of *England* in the *Court Military*, in which Court the ſaid *Liege People* being accuſed would not be admitted to make any other *Anſwer*, than that they were no way guilty, and would juſtifie the ſame and defend themſelves by *their Bodies*, and not otherwiſe; notwithſtanding their *Appellors* were *young men*, ſtout and luſty, and thoſe ſo accuſed, *ancient and impotent, maim'd or infirm*; whereby not only deſtruction of the *Lords* and *Grandees* of the *Kingdom*, but alſo of all and ſingular perſons of the Commonalty of the ſame may probably enſue: Since therefore the ſaid King hath wilfully acted contrary to ſuch a *Statute* of his *Kingdom*, 'tis not to be doubted but he hath thereby incurred the Crime of *Perjury*.

XXVIII. *Item*, Although the People of the *Realm* of *England*, by vertue of their *Leigeance* are fully enough bound to their *King*, and the ſaid *King* by the *Laws* and *Cuſtoms* of his *Kingdom*, is enabled to Correct and puniſh his People, if in any kind they *Tranſgreſs*; yet the ſaid *King* deſiring to trample on, and too much oppreſs his People, that he might the more freely execute and follow the Humour of his *fooliſh and unlawful Will*, by his *Letters* to all the *Counties* of his *Kingdom*, did Injoyn and Command, That all his Subjects as

well *Spiritual* as *Temporal*, ſhould make *certain Oaths in general* which were too grievous to them, and which might probably cauſe the *final deſtruction* of his People; and that they ſhould confirm ſuch their *Oaths* under their Letters and Seals. To which Royal Command, the People of his *Kingdom* did ſubmit and pay Obedience that they might not incur his Indignation or Diſpleaſure, and alſo for fear of Death.

XXIX. *Item*, When Parties contending in the *Eccleſtaſtical Court* in *Cauſes* meerly *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Spiritual*, had endeavoured to obtain from the *Chancellor* of *England*, Prohibitions to hinder the lawful Proceſs in the ſaid Courts; and the ſaid *Chancellor* had juſtly refuſed to grant the ſame, yet the ſaid *King* by Letters under his *Signet*, has frequently prohibited the *Eccleſiaſtical Judges* to proceed in ſuch Cauſes, thereby evilly infringing the *Liberties of the Church* in the *Grand Charter* approved, to the Conſervation whereof he was *ſworn*, and damnably incurring *Perjury*, and the Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt ſuch *Violators* thereof by the Holy Fathers pronounced.

XXX. *Item*, the ſaid King without any reaſonable or lawfull cauſe whatſoever, or any other proceſs of Law, did in his Parliament, encompaſs'd in warlike manner by armed men, adjudge *Thomas* of *Arundel*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, his Spiritual Father, abſenting himſelf by the Treacherous Counſell of the ſaid King, to Baniſhment againſt the Laws of his Kingdom, ſo by him ſworn to as aforeſaid.

XXXI. *Item*, by Inſpection of the Teſtament of the ſaid King; Sealed with the great and Privy Seal,

Seal, and alſo with his Signet, among other things there is contained this clauſe or Article.—'*Item*, 'we will that the reſidue of our Gold (the true 'debts of our Houſe-hold, *Chamber*, and *Wardrobe*, 'being paid, for payment whereof we bequeath 'Twenty Thouſand Marks, reſerving to our Exe-'cutors, Five or Six Thouſand Marks: which wee 'will by them to be expended towards the more 'plentifull maintainance of the Lepers, and Chap-'lains, to celebrate before them, by us founded at '*Weſtminſter*, and *Bermondeſeye*) ſhall remain to our 'Succeſſor, provided alwaies that he approve, ra-'tify and confirm, and hold, and cauſe to be hol-'den, and firmly obſerved, all and ſingular, the Sta-'tutes, Ordinances, and Judgments, made, given, 'and rendred in our Parliament, begun at *Weſt-'minſter*, the 17th day of the Month *September*, 'in the one and Twentieth Year of our Reign, and 'in the ſame Parliament, continued at *Shrewsbury*, 'and there holden, and alſo, all the Ordinances, 'Judgments, and Eſtabliſhments, the 16th day of '*September*, in the 22th Year of our Reign, at '*Coventry*, and afterwards at *Weſtminſter*, the 18th 'day of *March*, in the Year aforeſaid, by the Au-'thority of the ſaid Parliament. And likewiſe all 'other Ordinances, and Judgments, which ſhall 'hereafter happen to be made by Authority of the 'ſaid Parliament: But otherwiſe, if our ſaid Suc-'ceſſor ſhall refuſe to do the Premiſſes, (which we 'do not believe) Then we will that *Thomas* Duke 'of *Surry*, *Edward* Duke *d' Aumarle*, *John* Duke 'of *Exeter*, and *William le Scrop*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, '(paying firſt the Debts of our *Houſhold*, our *Cham-'ber*, and our *Wardrobe*, and reſerving Five or Six

'Thou-

'Thouſand Marks, as aboveſaid,) ſhall have and 'hold all the ſaid Reſidue above mention'd, for to 'ſupport and defend the ſaid Statutes, Eſtabliſh-'ments, Ordinances, and Judgments to their ut-'moſt power, even unto Death, if it be neceſſary; 'Upon all which, and every part, we do hereby 'charge and burden their Conſciences as they will 'anſwer in the day of Judgment. By which Article it may evidently enough appear: That the ſaid King did obſtinately ſtrive to maintain and defend thoſe Statutes, and Ordinances, which are erroneous and unjuſt, and repugnant to all Law and Reaſon. And this not only during his Life, but after his Death too, neither regarding the Peril of his own Soul, nor yet the utter deſtruction of his ſaid Kingdom, or Leige People.

XXXII. *Item*, in the 11th Year of the ſaid King *Richard*, he the ſaid King in the Chappel of his Mannor of *Langley*, in the preſence of the Dukes of *Lancaſter*, and *York*, and very many other Lords, deſiring (as it hath appeared) that his Uncle the Duke of *Gloceſter*, then there preſent, ſhould fully confide in the good will of him the ſaid King, did voluntarily and of his own accord, ſwear before the venerable Sacrament of the Lords Body, there placed upon the Altar, that thenceforwards he would never *endammage*, *trouble*, *or grieve him*, the ſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*, for any of his deeds which were ſaid to have been committed againſt the Perſon of him the ſaid King; But did cheerfully and totally forgive him all his offence, if any were. Yet afterwards, notwithſtanding ſuch Oath, the ſaid King did horribly and cruelly cauſe the ſaid Duke to be murdered, for ſuch the before pretended

pretended offences, thereby incurring the Guilt of damnable Perjury.

XXXIII. *Item*, after one of the Knights of the *Shires*, of the ſaid Kingdom, having a voice in Parliament, had Impeached the ſaid Lord *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, upon certain defaults, committed againſt the Kings Majeſty, as was untruely ſuggeſted: and the ſaid Archbiſhop, preſently then and there offered himſelf ready to anſwer the matters charged upon him; and deſired that he might be thereunto admitted by the King, not doubting as he ſaid, but he ſhould be able, ſufficiently to ſhew his Innocence; Yet the ſaid King, contriving by all the ways and means he could, to oppreſs the ſaid Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ruin his Eſtate, (as the event of the matter has declared) ſpeaking graciouſly, and with a cheerfull countenance to the ſaid Archbiſhop, from his Royal Seat, did adviſe and very earneſtly requeſt him, that at that time, he would hold his Peace, and expect a better and more fit time to make his defence; which day being paſſed, the ſaid King from day to day, for Five days or more, did fraudulently and treacherouſly deceive the ſaid Archbiſhop, counſelling him, and perſwading him, that he would not come to the Parliament, but wait at home without any fear, becauſe, as the ſaid King faithfully did promiſe him, there ſhould not in his abſence any loſs or prejudice be done or happen to him. Notwithſtanding all which, the ſaid King in his Parliament aforeſaid, did in the mean time adjudge the ſaid Archbiſhop to be baniſhed, during the Kings pleaſure, though abſent, and never any way called to anſwer, and without any reaſonable cauſe,

cauſe whatſoever; and alſo voluntarily againſt the Laws of the Kingdom, and all Juſtice Confiſcated all his Goods, whereby he likewiſe became Guilty of Perjury. But furthermore, the ſaid King being willing to Palliate his Malice and ſubtlety, by flattering diſcourſes which he oft-times had with the ſaid Archbiſhop, did endeavour to clear himſelf of ſuch injury done, and make as if it were the doings of others, inſomuch that the Archbiſhop diſcourſing with the King, and with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other Lords, and great men of the Kingdom: and happening to ſay by way of Lamenting his own Condition, That he was not the firſt that had ſuffered Baniſhment, nor ſhould he be the laſt; For he thought in a ſhort time the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other Lords would follow him, and confidently averred to the King; That all the Rigour of theſe proceedings, would finally be returned *back on his own Head.* To which the ſaid King as aſtoniſhed incontinently replyed; *That he verily thought it might ſo happen, and that he himſelf might and indeed ought to be expell'd his Kingdom by his Leige People.* And further the ſaid King ſaid, that if the ſame ſhould happen, *He would convey himſelf to the ſame place, where the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be.* And that the Archbiſhop might the rather Credit his words: He ſhowed him a certain great Jewel, [*Monile*, a *Brooch*, or *Tablet*,] Curiouſly formed, underneath the skirt of his outward veſtment. Intimating for certain to the ſaid Archbiſhop, that when ever he ſhould ſend that Jewel for a Token, he would not delay to come thither, where the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be reſident: And that the ſaid Archbiſhop might more confide

in

in him; the ſaid King ſent to him, adviſing him, that he ſhould privately ſend all his Jewels, and other things of value, belonging to his Chappel, unto him the ſaid King; For the ſafe keeping thereof, leſt by colour of the before mentioned Judgment, any one ſhould wrongfully ſeize the ſame. Which under the greateſt confidence in the World being done, the ſaid King cauſed him to repoſite the ſaid goods in certain *Coffers*: and the ſaid *Coffers* to be locked up, and ſealed by one of the Archbiſhops Clerks, and keeping the ſaid *Coffers* by him, returned the Keys thereof by the ſaid Clerk to the Archbiſhop. Yet afterwards unknown to the ſaid Archbiſhop, cauſed the ſaid *Coffers* to be broken open, and diſpoſed of the goods therein, at his will and pleaſure.— Furthermore the ſaid King faithfully promiſed the ſaid Archbiſhop, that if he would but repair to the Port of *Hampton*, in order to go out of the Realm, he would at leaſt by the Interceſſion of the Queen, get him Recalled. And if it ſhould happen, that he the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould go out of the Realm, he ſhould without fail return into *England*, before *Eaſter* next following, nor ſhould in any kind loſe his Archbiſhoprick: And this he faithfully promiſed, ſwearing upon the Croſs of the late Martyr S. *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by him the ſaid King, corporally touched; all which promiſes notwithſtanding, the ſaid King forced the ſaid Archbiſhop to depart the Realm: And forthwith tranſmitted ſpecial Letters to the Apoſtolical See, to have him Tranſlated. And ſo and by other Frauds, and deceitful Tricks of the ſaid King; the ſaid Archbiſhop being a well-meaning believing man, was ſubtlely circumvented.

AND

AND becauſe it ſeemed to all the Eſtates of the Realm, being asked their Judgments thereupon, as well ſeverally as jointly. That theſe cauſes of Crimes and Defaults were ſufficient and notorious to depoſe the ſaid King; Conſidering alſo his own Confeſſion of his inſufficiency and other things contained in his ſaid Renunciation and Ceſſion, openly delivered, all the ſaid States did unanimouſly conſent, that *ex abundanti*, that they ſhould proceed unto a Depoſition of the ſaid King; for the greater ſecurity, and tranquillity of the People, and benefit of the Kingdom. Whereupon the ſaid States and Commons unanimouſly conſtituted, and publickly deputed certain Commiſſioners, *viz.* The Biſhop of S. *Aſaph*, the Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Berkley*, Sir *Thomas Erpyngham*, and Sir *Thomas Grey*, Knights, and *William Thirnyng*, one of the Juſtices, to paſs ſuch ſentence of Depoſition; And to depoſe the ſaid King *Richard*, from all Kingly dignity, Majeſty, and Honour, on the behalf and in the name, and by the Authority of all the ſaid States, as in like Caſes, from the Antient Cuſtom of the ſaid Kingdom had been obſerved. And forthwith the ſaid Commiſſioners taking upon themſelves, the burthen of the ſaid Commiſſion, and ſitting on a Tribunal before the ſaid Royal Chair of State, having firſt had ſome debate of the matter, did on the behalf and in the name, and by the Authority aforeſaid, paſs the ſaid Sentence of Depoſition, being reduced into writing, and cauſed ſuch their Sentence to be read and recited by the ſaid Biſhop of S. *Aſaph*, their Collegue, by the Will and Command of the reſt of the ſaid Commiſſioners: In theſe words.

IN the Name of God, Amen: *we* John Biſhop *of* Aſaph, John Abbot *of* Glaſſenbury, Thomas *Earl of* Gloceſter, Thomas *Lord* Berkley, Thomas de Erpingham, *and* Thomas Gray, *Knights, and* William Thirnyng *Juſtice, Commiſſioners ſpecially deputed to the Matters under written, by the* Peers *and* Lords Spiritual *and* Temporal *of the Kingdom of* England, *and the* Commons *of the ſaid Kingdom; Repreſenting all Eſtates (or Conditions) of the ſaid Realm, ſitting in Tribunal, and having conſidered the multiplyed Perjuries, Cruelty, and very many other Crimes of the ſaid* Richard, *touching his government committed and perpetrated in his Kingdomes and Dominions aforeſaid, during the time of his Governance; And before the ſaid States, openly and publickly propounded, exhibited, and recited; Which have been and are ſo publick, notorious, manifeſt, and ſcandalous, that they could not nor can be concealed with denial or excuſe. Aand conſidering likewiſe the confeſſion of the ſaid* Richard, *acknowledging and reputing, and truly, and of his own certain knowledge, judging himſelf to have been and to be utterly inſufficient and unmeet for the rule and government of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominions, and their Appurtenances, and for ſuch his notorious demerits, worthy to be depoſed,*

ſed, as by him the ſaid Richard, was before declared, and by his Will and Command, publiſhed before the ſaid States, and made known and expoſed to them in the vulgar Tongue, having already had diligent deliberation upon theſe things and all others, tranſacted in this Affair before the ſaid States and us. We do on the behalf and in the name, and by the Authority to us in this matter committed, ex abundanti, and for Caution pronounce, decree and declare him the ſaid Richard, to have been, and to be unfit, unable, and utterly inſufficient for, and unworthy of the Rule and Government of the ſaid Kingdoms, and the Dominion, and Rights, and Appurtenances of the ſame, and for and by reaſon of the Premiſſes, to be deſervedly Depoſed of, and from all Royal Dignity and Honour, if any thing of ſuch Dignity and Honour were yet remaining in him. And with the ſame Caution we do Depoſe him by this our diffinitive ſentence in writing; Expreſly forbiding all and ſingular the Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Vaſſals, and Valvaſſors, and other Subjects, and Leige people of the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominion, and other places to the ſaid Kingdoms and Dominion belonging, that henceforth none of them ſhall any way obey or regard the ſaid Richard, as King or Lord of the ſaid Kingdom and Dominion.

Further-

Furthermore the ſaid States willing that nothing ſhould be wanting which might be of value, or ought to be required touching the Premiſſes, being ſeverally interrogated thereupon, did conſtitute the ſame Perſons that were before nominated Commiſſioners, to be their procurators, jointly and ſeverally to reſign and give back to the ſaid King *Richard*, the *Homage* and *Fealty* to him before made, and to intimate to him, if it ſhould be requiſite, all the Premiſes, touching ſuch his Depoſition and Renunciation.

And then preſently, as ſoon as it appeared by the Premiſſes, and the occaſion of them: That the Crown of *England*, with its Appurtenances was vacant, the aforeſaid *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, riſing up from his place, and ſtanding ſo erected as he might conveniently be ſeen by the people, and humbly fortifying himſelf with the Sign of the Croſs on his Forehead, and on his Breaſt, having alſo firſt called upon the name of Chriſt, did claim the ſaid Kingdom ſo vacant as aforeſaid, with its Crown and all its Members and Appurtenances. In this form of words in his Mother Tongue.

IN the name of Fader, Son, and Holy Gost, I Henry of Lancaſter, **chalenge this Rewme of** Ynglonde, **and the Croun with all the Members, and the Appurtenances, als I that am deſcendit, be Right Line of the Blode, comyng fro the Gude Lord King** Henry Therde, **and thorghe that right that God of his Grace hath ſent mee, with helpe of my Kyn, and of my Frendes to recover it; The which Rewme was in poynt to be ondone for defaut of Gobernance, and undoyng of the Gude Lawes.**

After which Claim and Challenge, as well the Lords Spiritual as Temporal, and all the States there preſent, being ſeverally and joyntly interrogated, what they thought of that Claim? The ſaid States with the whole People without any difficulty or delay, did unanimouſly conſent, that the ſaid Duke ſhould Reign over them. And forthwith, as the ſaid King ſhewed to the States of the Kingdom, the Signet of King *Richard*, delivered to him as a token of his will, that he ſhould ſucceed him as aforeſaid; the ſaid Archbiſhop taking the ſaid King *Henry* by the Right Hand, led him to the Royal Chair of State: And after the ſaid King kneeling down before it, had prayed a little while, the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, aſſiſted by the Archbiſhop of *York*, did place the ſaid King, and cauſe him to ſit in the ſaid Royal Seat; All the people

people wonderfully ſhouting for joy, and by and by the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having with much ado, procured ſilence from the over joy'd multitude, made a ſhort diſcourſe, or Oration in theſe words.

Vir Dominabitur populo, *A man ſhall Reign over my people*, 1 Sam. 9 17. *Theſe are the words of the King of Kings ſpeaking to* Samuel, *and teaching him how a perſon ſhould be qualified to Rule, ſince the people deſired to have a* King *given. And not unfitly may they be ſaid of our Lord the King whom we behold this day, and if we but intimately conſider theſe words, they afford us matter of great Conſolation; for God does not threaten us as he did formerly his people by* Iſaiah, *ſaying*, Iſa. 3. I will make Children to rule over them; *But according to his Compaſſion, who in his wrath remembreth mercy, he hath viſited his people, and now no more Children (as heretofore) ſhall Lord it over them. For the Lord ſaith to them,* **A man ſhall rule**: *Of the late Rulers of this Kingdom or any of them, one might have fitly ſaid that of the Apoſtle,* Cor. 13. I ſpake as a Child, I underſtood as a Child, I thought as a Child. *The Apoſtle repeats it thrice,* As a Child, I ſpake, I underſtood and thought. *As to* ſpeech *'tis certain that a Child is* unconſtant *in ſpeak-*

ing, he eaſily ſpeaks true, and as eaſily falſe, is ready in words to promiſe, but what he promiſes he preſently forgets. Now theſe are things very inconvenient and dangerous in a King; nor is it poſſible that any Realm ſhall ſtand long in happineſs where theſe Conditions bear ſway. But from ſuch miſchiefs a Kingdom is freed, whoſe Scepter *is ſwayd by a* Man, *for it belongs to a* Man *to ſet a watch before his Tongue; and ſuch is our preſent happineſs, over whom not a* Child, *but a* Man *is ſet, and ſuch an one, as I hope we may ſay of him That in* Eccleſ. 9. Bleſſed is the man that hath not erred with his Tongue. *Then ſaith the Apoſtle,* I underſtood as a Child: *Now a Child reliſhes nothing but* flatteries *and* pleaſing *things, and underſtands only* Bawbles *and* Trifles, *and loves not one that argues according to truth, yea indeed hates him beyond all meaſure. But heretofore amongſt us* Truth *was trampled under foot, ſo that none durſt ſpeak it; and therefore 'tis plain and apparent enough, that* He *that then Reign'd* underſtood as a Child. *For a* man *is not addicted to ſuch things, but underſtands wiſdom, ſo that by the Grace of God it may be ſaid of him, as it is written* Eccleſ. 9. Bleſſed is the man that abideth in wiſdom. *For as a Child is delighted in* Vanity, *ſo a man has regard to* Truth *and* Wiſdom: *Truth therefore ſhall*

enter

enter and Vanity depart, which has done ſo much miſchief in our Nation; for now a Man *ſhall Rule, who ſeeks after* Truth, *and not* Vanity *or* Flattery. *Thirdly, It is ſaid,* I thought as a Child, *for a Child* thinks and ſtudies *only how to have his humour, and do things according to his* own will, *and not according to Reaſon: Therefore when a Child Reigns, there only* Self-will *Reigns, and* Reaſon *is baniſht, and* Conſtancy *is put to flight, and great danger enſues; from which danger we are delivered, for a* Man ſhall rule over us; *to wit, One that ſpeaks not like a Child, but thus, as one that has the perfection of Reaſon.*—I come not to do my own will, but the will of him that ſent me; *to wit, of God: And therefore of ſuch a man we will ſay not only that he will abide in wiſdom, but alſo that as a Man, not a Child, he will meditate on the Circumſpection of God; that is, he will every way diligently obſerve that* Gods will *not his own be done, and ſo in the ſtead of a Child wantoning in fooliſh ſtubborn humors, a Man ſhall Reign, and ſuch a Man, that it ſhall be ſaid of him,*——A King ſhall Reign in wiſdom, and he ſhall execute Judgment and do Juſtice in the Earth.

Which Harrangue being ended the ſaid Lord King Henry to appeaſe the minds of his Subjects, did then and there utter theſe words.

Sirs, I thank God and zowe Spirituel and Tempozel, and all the Aſtates of the Lond, and do zowe to wyte, it es noght my will that no man thynke that be way of Conqueſt I wold diſherit any man of hys Heritage, Franches, oz other Ryghts that hym aght to have, no put hym out of that that he has, and has had by the gude Laws and Cuſtoms of the Rewme: Except thoſe perſons that has ben agan the gude purpoſe and the commune pzoſit of the Rewme.

And forthwith conſidering, that by the former *vacancy* of the Royal Throne, by the *Ceſſion* and *Depoſition* aforeſaid, all power of Juſtices, Sheriffs, and other Officers, throughout the Kingdom was ceaſed, therefore to the end, that there might be no failure nor delay in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, to the grievance of the People, he cauſed principal Officers and Juſtices to be made and ſworn to him with the uſual Oaths. And it was immediately proclaimed by the Kings Command, that on *Monday* next, after the ſaid Feaſt of S. *Michael*, a Parliament ſhould be held, and celebrated. And

that

that on the *Monday* following that, that is to ſay on the Feaſt of S. *Edward*, ſhould be the Coronation of the ſaid King at *Weſtminſter*, and that all thoſe that could claim any ſervice in the ſaid Coronation, ſhould come to the *White-hall*, of the Palace before the Steward, Conſtable, and Marſhall of *England*, on *Saturday* next, before the day of the ſaid Parliament, to make their juſt demands in that behalf, and receive Right therein. But as for the ſhortning the day aſſigned to the Parliament, there was a *Proteſtation* made by the *King*, That it was not his intent that thereby any prejudice ſhould be brought upon the States of his Kingdom; nor that the ſame for the future ſhould be drawn into *Example*: But that ſuch Abbreviation of Time was only made for the benefit and profit of the Kingdom, and eſpecially to ſave the Labour and Expences of ſeveral of his people, and that the Grievances of the people might be the ſooner remedied.

After which the *King* ariſing from his Royal Throne, and beholding the people with a cheerfull and benign Countenance, retired himſelf from thence, all the people rejoycing. And the ſame day in the *White-Hall* aforeſaid, made a ſolemn Feaſt to the Nobles and Gentry there in a vaſt multitude aſſembled.

And afterwards, *viz.* on *Wedneſday* next following, the before named *Procurators* ſo deputed as aforeſaid, did according as they were commanded, repair into the Preſence of the ſaid late King *Richard* being within the *Tower* aforeſaid, and the ſaid Sir *William Thirnyng* the Juſtice, for himſelf and his Companions and Fellow-Procura-

tors, in the Name of all the States and People aforeſaid, did notifie and fully declare unto the ſaid *Richard*, their *Admiſſion* of his ſaid *Renunciation*, and the Manner, Cauſe and Form of ſuch ſentence of *Depoſition*, and preſently did reſign and give back to the ſaid late *King Richard* the *Homage* and *Fealty* formerly to him made as aforeſaid: With theſe words.

The Words *which* William Thirnyng *ſpake to* Monſire Richard *late King of* England *at the* Tower *of* London *in his Chamber, on* Wedneſday *next after the Feaſt of* S. Michael *the Archangel, were as follow:*

Sire, It is wele know to zow, that ther was a Parlement ſomon'd of all the States of the Reaume for to be at Weſtmyſtre, and to begin on the Tueſday in the Morn of the Feſt of S. Michel the Archangel, that was zeſterday; by cauſe of the which Summons all the States of this Lond were there gadyr'd, the which States hole made thes ſame perſones that ben comen here to zowe now, her Procuratorys, and gaven hem full Autorite and Power, and charged hem for

for to say the words that we shall say to zow in her Name, and on their behalve; that is to wytten, the Bischop of Seint Assa for Ersbischoppes and Bischoppes, the Abbot of Glastenbury for Abbots and Priours, and all other men of holy Chirche, Seculers and Rewelers, the Earle of Glouceſtre, for Dukes and Eris, the Lord of Berkley, for Barons and Banerettes, Sir Thomas Irpyngham Chamberleyn, for all the Bachilers and Commons of this Lond be South; Sir Thomas Grey for all the Bachilers and Commons by North, and my felawe Johan Markham, and me for to come with hem for all thes States. And so, Syre, these words and the doing that we sall say to zowe, is not onlych our wordes, but the wordes and the doyngs of all the States of this Lond, and our Charge and in her Name.

And he answered and said, That he wyste wele that we wold noght say but as we were charged.

Sire, ze remembre zowe wele that on Moneday in the Fest of Seint Michel the Archaungel ryght here in this Chamber, and in what presence ze renounced and Cessed of the State of Kynge and of Lordeship, and of all the Dignite and

Wyrship

Wyrchip that longed thereto, and assoi-led all zour Leiges of her Ligeance and Obeisance that longed to zowe uppe the fourme that is contened in the same Re-nunciation and Cession, whiche ze redde zour self by zour mouth, and affermed it by zour Othe, and by zour owne writing. Upon whiche ze made and Ordeined zour Procuratours the Ersbischop of Zork and the Bischop of Hereford, for to notifie and declare in zour Name thes Renunciation and Cession at Westmynstre to all the States, and all the People that was there gadyr'd, bycause of the summons a-forezaid, the which thus don yesterday by thes Lords zour Procuratours, and wele herde and understouden thes Renuncia-tion and Cession ware plenelich and fre-lich accepted, and fullich agreed by all the States and People forezaid. And over this, Sire, at the Instance of all thes States and People, ther ware certain Articles of Defautes in zour Governance redde there, and tho wele herd and pleine-lich understouden to all the States fore-said, hem thoght hem so trewe, and so notozie and knowen, That by tho Cau-ses, and by no other, as thei sayd, and havyng Consideration to zour own wordes in zour own Renunciation and Cession,

Cession, that ze were not worthy, no sufficient ne able for to Governe, for zour owne demerites, as it is more pleinerlich contened therein; hem thoght that wos resonable and cause for to depose zowe, and her Commissaries that they made and ordein'd, os it is of Record ther declared and decreed and adjudged zow for to be deposed and pryved, and indede deposed zowe and pryved zowe of the Astate of king, and of the Lordschip conteined in the Renunciation and Cession forsayd, and of all the dignite and wyrschipp, and of all the Administration that longed thereto. And we procurators to all thes States and People forsayd os we be charged by hem, and by her Auctorite gyfen us, and in her name zelde zow uppe for all the States and People, forsayd Homage Leige, and Feaute, and all Leigeance, and all other Bondes, Charges, and Services that long therto, and that non of all thes States, and People fro thys tyme forward ne bere zowe Feyth, ne do zowe Obeisance os to thar King.

And he answered and seyd, that he loked not ther after, but he sayde that after all this he hoped that is Colyn wolde be goode Lord to hym.

Thus

Thus far the Record, word for word Tranſlated out of the *Latine* and *French*, and the *Engliſh* recited in the Old Words, and obſolete ſpelling as it ſtands in the Rolls remaining in the Tower, the ſame being atteſted to have been Examined and found to agree therewith.

Thus tracing the ſeries of *ſtory*, we have attended this unhappy Prince through all the *Stages* of Grandeur, and ſeen how by over-ſtraining at too abſolute a power, he fatally came to be deprived of his before unqueſtioned Dominion, ſo that on a ſudden he was abandoned, deſpiſed, and reduced to the Condition of a private man, a State ſo much worſe than that of Death, as it ſuffered him to ſurvive his Honour, and remain only a Monument of his own Ignominy, and the Triumphs of his Succeſſor.

Yet this *Affliction* laſted not very long, for there are ſeldom many Steps between the *Priſons* and the *Graves* of Princes. Though in truth his Fate ſeems to have been *accelerated* by the vain attempts of pretended Friends to reſtore him, rather than by any *predeſignment* of thoſe that had diſpoſeſſed him. For at firſt after his Depoſition, he was carried to *Leeds-Caſtle* in *Kent*, and there kept under a competent Guard as a Priſoner, but not in any very cloſe Confinement, nor yet without Princely *Maintenance* in ſome proportion to his *quondam* Quality.

On *Monday*, the 29*th* of *September*, 1399. was the ſaid King *Richard*'s Reſignation; on the next day he was Depoſed by the Parliament, and *Henry* made the ſaid claim to the Crown, and actually began

began his *Reign* as King. On the 6*th* of *October* a Parliament meets that was Summoned by him in his own Name, and on *Monday* the 13*th* of the ſame *October*, he was Crowned, being the *ſame* day of the Month on which in the very laſt year he received Sentence of Baniſhment.

The better to eſtabliſh his new aſſumed Throne, he began with Acts of *Clemency*, as hoping to purchaſe *new Friends*, or at leaſt extinguiſh *old Enmities*; the Dukes of *Aumerle* and *Exeter*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Morley* (all *Privado's* to the late King *Richard*) he *freely pardon'd*; yet could not this *unexpected favour* (at which the common people not a little murmur'd, as being they thought *undeſerv'd*) reſtrain theſe very Noblemen from hazarding their own Lives, and *His* too, for whoſe ſake they pretended to venture them, in attempting *freſh Diſturbances*. For before King *Henry* had reigned two years, they, with ſeveral others, enter'd into a *Confederacy* (firſt hatch'd, 'tis ſaid, by the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*) to deſtroy him, by ſurprizing him at a *Tournament*, or *Martial Exerciſe*, that they appointed to be held at *Oxford*, and to which they had ſolemnly *invited* him, and then to re-eſtabliſh *Richard*. A *Plot* which whether it were more *juſtly* or *imprudently* deſign'd, more *wonderfully* diſcovered at firſt, or more ſtrangely quaſh'd at laſt, or prov'd more *fatal* to the undertakers, or to the ſaid late depoſed King *Richard*, we muſt refer to the Reader's cenſure: For in ſhort ſo it was, That the Duke of *Aumerle* riding towards *Oxford* to joyn the reſt of his Aſſociates at their pretended *Juſts*, calling by the way on his Father the Duke of

York,

York, and having in his boſom an *Indenture*, containing the *Heads of the Conſpiracy* mutually Sign'd and Seal'd by the principal Agents therein; the old Duke happening to ſpy it as they ſat at Dinner, ask'd what it was? And the Son in ſome diſorder anſwering, that it *no way concerned him*; the Father *ſwore by St. George* that he would ſee it, and pluck'd it from him; by which perceiving their *Plot*, he upbraided his Son, and told him, he would preſently acquaint King *Henry*. But *Aumerle* got out of the Houſe, and rod with ſuch *ſpeed*, that he got to *Windſor* (where the *Court* then was) before his Father, and begging the King's *Pardon*, firſt of all diſcover'd the whole Intrigue himſelf.

The King provides for his own ſafety, retires to *London*, and the Conſpirators perceiving the buſineſs had taken Air, prompted on by deſpair, betook themſelves to *Arms*; and having with them one *Maudlin* a Prieſt, that very much reſembled King *Richard*, they attired him in *Royal Robes*, and gave out, that he was King *Richard*, eſcaped out of Priſon. By which Fiction they drew together a conſiderable Army, and ſuch as might have ſhockt King *Henry*'s ſcarce-well-ſetled Crown, had not Fortune (always his Friend) ſcattered them in a moment by the moſt unexpected accident in the World. For their Troops being encamped near *Ciceſter*, and the Duke of *Surrey*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, taking their Quarters within the Town at one end, and the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, in another. The Bayliff of the Town (I am ſorry his Name is not recorded, for a ſtout brave fellow no doubt he was, that durſt attack ſuch mighty

Peers,

Peers, that had ſo numerous an Army within a Mile or two of the Town, underſtanding that they were in Rebellion againſt the King, gathering a Company of Townſmen in the night, aſſaulted the Inn where *Surrey* and *Salisbury* lay, who after a long defence, being in danger of being taken, a Prieſt of their Party ſet divers Houſes in the Town on Fire, hoping thereby to divert the Aſſailants from proſecuting the Lords, to ſave their Houſes. But this inflam'd them the more, and ſo hotly they purſued the Skirmiſh, that they ſlew the ſaid two Noblemen, and cut off their Heals. In the mean time from the other Inn, *Exeter* led to his Camp, intending to bring the whole Army to reſcue his Friends: But the Soldiers having heard a Clamour, and ſeeing the Town on Fire, imagined King *Henry* had been come with all his Forces, and ſo in a pannick fear fled and diſperſed themſelves; and the ſaid Duke of *Exeter* having skulk'd up and down for ſome time, was taken and Behealed at *Plaſhey* in *Eſſex*. The very place where by his Council and Contrivance the Duke of *Gloceſter* had been apprehended, and ſent away to *Calice* to be murdered.

Though King *Richard* being all this while a *Priſoner*, cannot be ſuppoſed to have much hand in this *Inſurrection*, yet being undertaken for his ſake, it might poſſibly haſten his End. He was now remov'd from *Leeds* to *Pomfract Caſtle*, and as we know not the *certain time* of his Death, ſo likewiſe is the *manner* of it variouſly reported. Some write, That he was every day ſerv'd in with abundance of coſtly Diſhes, but *not ſuffered* to touch or taſt one of them, and ſo periſhed with *Famine*; but ſuch barbarous unnatural Cruelty ſeems wholly *fabulous*.

bulous. Others relate, That King *Henry* having at Table been overheard to ſay with a ſigh— *Have I never a Friend that will rid me of him, whoſe Life will breed deſtruction to me, and diſquiet to the Realm?* One Sir *Pierce Exton* taking this for a Warrant, goes down to *Pomfret*, and firſt commanded his *Taſter*, not to take the *Eſſay* of his Meat as formerly; at which *Richard* being offended, and being told it was by K. *Henry*'s Order, ſaid to his Squire, *The Devil take* Henry *of* Lancaſter *and thee together*; upon which Sir *Pierce* entered the Chamber with eight Armed Men, which King *Richard* perceiving, wrung the *Bill* out of the hands of the formoſt, and ſlew four of them, but was at laſt himſelf knock'd down by Sir *Pierce* with a *Pole-Axe*: Which Relation likewiſe ſeems a little Romantick. *Walſingham* tells us, that after the Defeat of his Friends, the Duke of *Exeter*, *&c.* finding all hopes of his *Reſtoration* deſtroyed, he fell into ſuch a *ſullen Melancholy* that he would taſt no Food, and ſo *voluntarily ſtarved* himſelf.

But which way ſoever he came by his End, King *Henry* it ſeems was willing to let all the World *know he was dead*, for his Body, Embalm'd and covered with Lead all ſave the *Face*, was brought to *London*, where for three days together it was expoſed at *Paul*'s to *publick view*, and then buried in the Church of *Predicant Friers* at *Langley* in *Buckinghamſhire*: But afterwards by King *Henry* the Fifth removed to *Weſtminſter*, and there honourably Entombed. Yet ſome *Scottiſh Hiſtorians* affirm, That he eſcaped out of Priſon, and led a ſolitary and virtuous life in that Kingdom for divers years, and lies buried (as they ſay) in the *Black-Friers* at *Sterling*. So different is the Report of Fame touching this *unhappy* Prince's *exit* out of the World, who *lived* therein about 33 years, and *Reigned* 22 years and 3 months.

FINIS.